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11

INTRODUCTION

The War of 1812, beneficial as it was in its results to the United States, does not present, when studied in detail, a consistent progress toward victory. It was begun with seemingly no thought for preparation and concluded with apparently little heed to the causes which brought it about. It was not well managed by the administration at Washington, and among the generals in the field there was much blundering incompetence. Individual bravery and patriotism brought glory in the naval warfare; but on the land, with a few exceptions, the campaigns were distinctly unfortunate. Particularly discouraging was the opening campaign under the command of General William Hull, Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

The purpose of the Hull campaign was to march to Detroit and from that place cross the river and commence a conquest of Canada. General Hull with an army consisting largely of Ohio volunteers made his way, in May and June, through the swamps and wilderness of Ohio and camped a few miles below the town of Detroit. On July 12, urged by his impatient officers, he crossed the river and began his conquest by issuing a proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada. The following weeks, however, brought little but inaction and vacillation, and early in August he withdrew his force under cover of the night across the river to Amer-

ican soil. On Sunday morning, the sixteenth of August, 1812, without having engaged the enemy in a single concerted action, he surrendered Detroit to the British.

Although the officials at Washington were very culpable in the management of the movements in the West, the Administration succeeded in extricating itself from the blame, and General Hull received the outpouring of wrath from the entire country for the failure of the campaign. His disappointed army was particularly bitter and even accused him of a treacherous betrayal. A court-martial tried his case, convicted him of cowardice, and sentenced him to be shot. President Madison, however, spared his life. General Hull spent the remainder of his years in retirement, and died, an old man, still insisting upon the rightness of his course and vainly attempting to justify himself before the nation.

During the disastrous Hull campaign Robert Lucas, of Scioto County, Ohio (afterwards Governor of the State of Ohio and still later the organic Governor of the Territory of Iowa), was in constant service and in a position which brought him in contact with every phase of the campaign. He kept a daily journal of the events, which is distinctly valuable in that it gives a contemporaneous view of the campaign from the standpoint of an actual participant. For over ninety years this interesting *Journal*, which is here published for the first time, has been carefully preserved by the descendants of Robert Lucas. It is recorded in a note book of about eight by four and one-half inches in dimensions, opening at the end, with board covers and leather back and corners. The covers are broken and the pages are yellow

with age; but despite its almost one hundred years, the writing is as legible as ever and tells a story of exceeding interest to the student of American history.

Robert Lucas, the author of the *Journal*, had come to Ohio near the beginning of the nineteenth century and settled in what is now Scioto County.

In 1804 he was commissioned Lieutenant in a company of volunteers recruited in apprehension of the refusal of Spain to peacefully surrender possession of the Louisiana Territory, then recently purchased of Napoleon by the United States. Again in 1807 he was chosen Captain of a volunteer company which tendered its services to President Jefferson during the excitement following the attack upon the Chesapeake by the British ship *Leopard*. Actual service was, however, not required of either of these companies.

In the Ohio Militia Lucas had risen by successive promotions until at the opening of the War of 1812 he was Brigadier General of the 2d Brigade of the 2d Division. He had been for some time desirous of becoming a regular army officer; and being finally tendered an appointment he accepted in April of 1812 a commission as Captain in the regular army of the United States. A few days later he received orders from Major General Duncan McArthur (at that time in command of the 2d Division of the Ohio Militia) to transmit at once from his brigade its proportion of the twelve hundred men required of the State for the coming campaign against the British. These orders placed Robert Lucas in a rather peculiar position. But having received no orders as a regular army officer he concluded after some

deliberation that the urgency of the call for volunteers necessitated his attending to his duties as a Brigadier General in the Ohio Militia. Without delay he set about recruiting volunteer companies from his brigade.

The need for volunteers was urgent, and Lucas threw himself into the enlistment with all his enthusiasm. Instead of waiting for a position as officer, which he could undoubtedly have had after the organization of his own troops into volunteer companies, he enlisted from the first as a private in one of the companies which chose his brother John Lucas as Captain. His purpose seems to have been to encourage enlistments among the men of his brigade. His name remained upon the company roll throughout the campaign, but he seems to have preferred the independent duties of a scout, guide, express, and ranger, as the *Journal* clearly shows. Thus Robert Lucas was at one and the same time a Captain in the United States Army, a Brigadier General in the Ohio Militia, and a private in a volunteer company.

The volunteer companies started on their march to the rendezvous at Dayton, Ohio, on April 27, 1812; and from this point *The Robert Lucas Journal* tells its own story.

Beginning with the twenty-fifth day of April, 1812, the *Journal* records the details of the campaign until August 16, when Detroit was surrendered. Then it tells of the return of the disheartened Ohio volunteers across Lake Erie and the State of Ohio and down the river to Portsmouth. It ends on September 4, 1812, with the arrival of Robert Lucas at his home in Portsmouth, Scioto County, Ohio. One hundred and forty-one pages are devoted to this daily chronicle. Following these are twenty-eight pages upon

which are recorded religious poems, evidently composed by Robert Lucas in the later years of his life.

But this unique manuscript did not remain altogether unknown to the world. It has been used at least twice in preparing short sketches of Robert Lucas. In 1834 the writer of a newspaper sketch¹ favoring the reelection of Lucas as Governor of Ohio evidently had access to its pages. Again in 1870, Dr. Frederick Lloyd, at that time Corresponding Secretary of The State Historical Society of Iowa, wrote for the *Annals of Iowa* a brief sketch of Iowa's first Governor which shows intrinsic evidence that he had perused the pages of *The Robert Lucas Journal*.

The most notable instance of the use of the manuscript, however, was at the close of the Hull campaign. Among the four Colonels in the campaign under General Hull was Lewis Cass. Immediately after the surrender of Detroit, General Hull was taken to Canada as a prisoner of war. Colonel Cass, however, started at once for Washington, where he made a detailed report of the campaign to the Secretary of War. This report severely condemned General Hull for his conduct of the campaign and was largely instrumental in bringing about the court-martial and conviction of that officer. A comparison of the *Cass Report* with *The Robert Lucas Journal* reveals the fact that Cass incorporated into his *Report* sections taken verbatim, or with slight alterations, from the *Journal*. The conclusion that Cass copied from Lucas rather than the reverse is strengthened by the fact that the paragraphs in which the

¹ This sketch is included in a manuscript collection in the possession of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

duplication occurs most frequently are those describing in great detail the events at Detroit on the day of the surrender, at which time Colonel Cass was miles away on an expedition to the River Raisin. It is fair to presume that Lucas loaned the *Journal* to Colonel Cass to assist him in the preparation of his *Report*.

The record is entirely in the handwriting of Robert Lucas. It was written in camp and on the march; for he evidently carried the *Journal* with him throughout the campaign. On August 25, as he was leaving Cleveland on his return home he records: "I here got a knapsack and fil[1]ed it with my uniform cloth[e]s hat, my Journal, and Such other articles as I did not wish to leave." The writing, naturally, is hurried and in some cases rather difficult to decipher. Especially is this true in regard to proper names to which the context gives no clue. Care has been taken to verify these names from other available sources, but in many cases such verification is impossible.

In editing the manuscript of *The Robert Lucas Journal* certain rules have been followed which may require a brief explanation. An effort has been made to reproduce the *Journal* with exactness as regards spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. Where letters have been omitted by the author, they have been supplied in editorial brackets. An exception, however, has been made in some cases where words seem to have been uniformly used as abbreviations, as Gnl for General and Colo for Colonel.

Certain materials taken from the collection of Lucas letters and papers have been printed in appendices, not as a

part of the *Journal* but simply as throwing additional light upon the story of the campaign.

The editor wishes to make special acknowledgment to Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh for valuable advice and assistance in preparing the manuscript for the press.

JOHN C. PARISH

JOURNAL

Received orders in Scioto County to march a Company of Volunteers and a Rifle Company from said County to Detroit,¹—Issued orders on the 25th April 1812 Directing Said Companies to march on the 27th, and assemble at W^m Lucass 12 miles up Scioto—Met part of said Companies at Portsmouth on the day appointed and commenc[e]d the march accompanied by a number of the Citizens as a testimony of gratitude for the patriotism manifested in said County—

[Tuesday, April the Twenty-eighth]

28th Both Companies having assembled they proceeded to march to Pe Pee,² and Encamped

[Wednesday, April the Twenty-ninth]

on the morning of the 29th the Volunteer Company, having been joined by the Volunteers from Pe Pee, an election was ordered, when John Lucas³ was elected Captain Dennis

¹ Robert Lucas was at this time Brigadier General of the 2d Brigade of the 2d Division of the Ohio Militia.—EDITOR.

² A small creek in what is now Pike County. The neighborhood was known as Pe Pee; and a township of Pike County also bears the name.—EDITOR.

³ A younger brother of Robert Lucas.—EDITOR.

Murphy Lieut[e]n[an]t, and Joseph Barber Ensign, the Rifle Company having been previously organized David Rupe Capt¹ Tho^s Arnold Lut and Richard McDougal Ensign—Both of Said Companies thus organized proceeded on their march to Chillicothe, where they Encamped and Drew provisions—

[Thursday, April the Thirtieth]

30th Remained at Chillicothe making arrangements to get Camp kettels waggon &c to Enable us to proceed to Dayton

[Friday, May the First]

May 1^t 1812 marched towards Dayton, and Encamped at old town² and experienced a Disagreeable rainy night

[Saturday, May the Second]

2nd marched on in the rain about 15 miles

[Sunday, May the Third]

3 left the Company and went to Dayton to get provisions to Send to meet the Companies—

[Monday, May the Fourth]

4th ar[r]ived in Dayton and started provisions in M^r Buckhannors Cart

[Tuesday, May the Fifth]

5th returned and met the troop and marched with them to Dayt[o]n was received by the troops at Dayt[o]n with honor and politeness—

[Wednesday, May the Sixth]

6th little was don[e] but repo[r]t

¹ See below, Appendix A.—EDITOR.

² Now Frankfort, Ross County, Ohio.—EDITOR.

[Thursday, May the Seventh]

7th the other three Companies from my Brigade being present to wit Cap^t Fryatt Keyser, and Capt Ullery I proceeded to organize them together with Capt Rupe's and Lucass from Scioto into one Battallion and ordered an election to be held at the house of Major Reed in Dayton accordingly when James Denny was Unanimously elected Major of said Battallion, William A. Trimble¹ was also unanimously elected Major of the other Battallion from Gnl McArthurs Division. Gnl McArthur² was on the Same day Unanimously elected Colo of the Volunte[e]r Regt from his Division—³

[Friday, May the Eighth]

8th an encampment was laid out on the Commons East of Dayton and news having ar[r]ived from Greenvill[e] of the Murder of M^r Rush by Indians and also the Murder of some Indians I was requested by Governor Meigs⁴ to take 30 men of Capt Rup[e]s men and repair to Greenville to ascertain the Situation of the frontier—

[Saturday, May the Ninth]

9th Started to Greenville with 33 men and went to Razor Mill on Stillwater and encamped finding the inhabitan[ts] much alarmed and moving of[f]

¹ For a biographical sketch of William A. Trimble, see the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, July, 1905, pp. 225-246.—EDITOR.

² Governor of Ohio, 1830-1832.—EDITOR.

³ The three regiments of Ohio volunteers were commanded by Colonels Duncan McArthur, James Findlay, and Lewis Cass respectively. These volunteer troops were joined by the 4th Regiment of Regulars from Port Vincennes under command of Lieutenant Colonel James Miller.—EDITOR.

⁴ Governor Return Jonathan Meigs, as commander in chief of the Ohio Militia, took charge of the army until the arrival of General Hull.—EDITOR.

[Sunday, May the Tenth]

10 proce[e]ded on to M^r Williams on Stillwater where we found a party of men building a Blockhouse the inhabitants having all fled from their homes and assembled at that place being 16 miles from Greenville—

[Monday, May the Eleventh]

11 on particular enquiry I found the alarm to be principally unfounded I left 20 men to assist the inhabit[ants] to build a blockhous[e] dispa[t]ched Several up Stillwater to the head and proceeded on to Greenville in company with Capt Rupe and Six men—found the Countary intirely deserted by the inhabitants except two families one at the old garrison and one at a mill in sight of the oth[er] both of which places a Company of men were Stationed and had erected block houses.

[Tuesday, May the Twelfth]

12 Explored the Countary up Muddy Creek went to the place where the Murders was Commit[t]ed and when going in the evening to to inter the Dead Indians we Started an Indian from the bushes who had been laying in ambush in sight of the garrison with a view as was supposed to kill some person and retire and when in pursuite of him we found Several packs and four guns that was hid by Indians that was then at the Blockhouse of the Dellaware Miamas and Munces¹ the guns was owned by the[m] when brought in, and the Indians was Sent to the Indian agent at Troy—

[Wednesday, May the Thirteenth]

13 agreeably to our orders returned to Stillwater Collected the balance of our Company, those who went up Stillwater

¹ Munseys, one of the three tribes of the Delaware Indians.—EDITOR.

having returned and made no discovery we prepared to return to Dayton. The Countary was generally Deserted without a caus[e]

[Thursday, May the Fourteenth]

14 returned to Dayton and Joined the troops

[Friday, May the Fifteenth]

15th made a report of the Situation of the frontier to Governor Meigs The Gov[er]nor requested me not to leave the army but informed me He would write to the Secr[e]t[ar]y at war and assured me that I should neither loos rank nor emmolument by attending the army I Consented to remain with the army on those Conditions¹

[Saturday, May the Sixteenth to Monday, May the Eighteenth]

16, 17, 18 remained with the troops and dissiplined the officers at their trainings—

[Tuesday, May the Nineteenth]

19th was informed by Govern[or] Meigs that he wished Some person to go through the wilderness to detroit as an express and solicited me to undertake the mission to which I consented I would

[Wednesday, May the Twentieth]

20th done my duty with the army—

[Thursday, May the Twenty-first]

21st was Solicited by Governor Meigs and Colo Cass² to assist in Detaching a part of Colo McArthurs Regt and

¹ Lncas had been recently appointed a Captain in the United States Army and was waiting for an assignment as a regular army officer.—EDITOR.

² Colonel Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory of Michigan from 1813 to 1831 and later prominent in national politics.—EDITOR.

attaching th[e]m to Colo Cass, to wit Capt Lucas and Capt Pinney[']s [?] Comp[an]y and promised me the Command of the best Battallion in the army if I would Consent, to which I replied, tha[t] when I engaged as a volunteer it was neither with a view to gain rank or emmolum[en]t but purely to serve my Country and as I Could have the Command of the Battallion raised from my Brigade, I felt a delicacy in accepting the Com[ma]nd of troops from other Brigades.

[Friday, May the Twenty-second]

22^d Similar applications was mad[e] but no Satisfaction was give[n] them by me. I informed Major Denny and Major Trimbell and they opposed the detaching of any part of the[i]r Battallions in any such manner. Thus the project was abandoned,—there being a supposition that there was Indians viewing the Camp of nights as a nois[e] had be[e]n heard like turk[e]ys Calling the night before. I went and lay in the bushes out of the Camp with Sml Herd and watched for th[e]m but none was discovered

[Saturday, May the Twenty-third]

23 Gnl Hull¹ ar[r]ived and reviewed the army with Gov Meigs and I was informed by Governor Meigs that I would be wanted to go to Detroit in a few Days

[Sunday, May the Twenty-fourth]

24th I was introduced by Governor Meigs to Gnl Hull. I was informed by Gnl Hull the intention of the express, and the rout[e] he wished me to take, and that he wished me to start the next day to which I Consented

¹ Brigadier General William Hull, Governor of the Territory of Michigan and in command of the Northwestern Army.—EDITOR.

[Monday, May the Twenty-fifth]

25th I prepared to Start to Detroit Called on Gnl Hull, was instructed to pass through Dellawar[e], the Sanduskes, by the foot of the rappids, the river Raisin and then to Detroit was furnished with a number of addresses to the Different chiefs of Indians with Dispa[t]ches to Mr Varnum¹ at Lower Sandusky,² to Col. Anderson at the River Raisin and to Mr Atwater³ the Acting Governor at detroit. This day being the day appointed to transfer the Command of the army from Governor Meigs to Gnl Hull I waited to see the Command transfer[r]ed and then proceed[e]d on my Journey in Compa[n]y with with William Denny about 15 Miles where we lodged all night—

[Tuesday, May the Twenty-sixth]

26th proceeded on to Capt Gabriels on the head of Darby⁴ made inquiry and found the inhabitants much ala[r]med

[Wednesday, May the Twenty-seventh]

27th proceeded on to Delaware where we prepared for our journey made inquiry of the situation of the frontier was informed that the inhabitants was moving of[f]. I endeavor[e]d to quiet the[i]r fears by assuring th[e]m that they would be protected and that men would be sent to their assistan[ce] immediately I wished Some person to go with me to lower Sandusky to return with Dispa[t]ches but none Could be got but Capt Welch a man of valure

¹ Jacob B. Varnum, United States Factor at Sandusky and later at Chicago—See *American State Papers*, Vol V, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 361, 420.—EDITOR.

² Now Fremont, the county seat of Sandusky County, Ohio.—EDITOR.

³ Reuben Atwater, Acting Governor of the Territory of Michigan.—EDITOR.

⁴ A creek emptying into the Scioto River opposite Circleville.—EDITOR.

and perseverance he engaged to go with me prepared accordingly to start next mor[n]ing

[Thursday, May the Twenty-eighth]

28th proceed[ed] on from Dellaware to Sandusky, Called at M^r Pyatts neare the Boundary line where the inhabitants had assembled and was stockading around his house I advised them not to quit the[i]r farms and assnred them that they would be protected, passed on from there to upper Sandusky, lodged at the home of an Indian by the name of Willy Hemky was treated hospata[b]ly by him

[Friday, May the Twenty-ninth]

29 proceeded on was accompanied by Willy Hemky, passed through Colo Crawfords Battle ground.¹ Hemky explained to me the nature of the nature of the battle sho[we]d me where the Indians cam[e] in upon the whites &c, proceeded on to Negro town got an interpreter Called all the Chiefs together that was at home in the neighborhood of Upper Sandusky.² I read and explained Gul Hulls address to them they all appeared to be well pleased and expressed great friendship and a full determination to adher[e] to the treaty of Greenville[e]³ The Indians appeared to be planti[n]g their Corn as usual but was alarmed at the news of so large an army being raised,— I then proceeded on to lower Sandusky Saw a number of Indians but no hostile appearance, crossed Timokney⁴ where Colo Crawford was

¹ For an account of this battle, see Hill's *Crawford's Campaign* in *Magazine of Western History*, Vol. II, No. 1, May, 1885, pp. 19-28.—EDITOR.

² See below, Appendix C.

³ Negotiated by General Wayne in 1795.—EDITOR.

⁴ Tymochtee Creek.—EDITOR.

burned gave an Indian a Dollar to ferry us ov[er] in a cano[e], the waters all being extrem[e]ly high, ar[r]ived at Lower Sandusky deliv[er]ed my Dispa[t]ches to Mr Varnum, found that place almost entirely deserted both by the whites and Indians. The Ottawa Indians and the Miami having principally moved of[f], the Wiandots are planting no Corn and every thing appears in confusion, requested Mr Varnum to hold a Council with the indians and to inform the Governor and Gnl Hull any particular relative to the situation of said place—

[Saturday, May the Thirtieth]

30th remained at Sandusky, Mr Varnum held a Council with the Wiandott and Munsies Indians, the Wiandott appear to be pleased and I believe they will be friendly to the United States, the Munsis appear otherwis[e] and I believe they will be directed entirely by the British Should they not be restrained by fear the Co[un]cill broke up, Mr Varnum informed the Gnl the result, I wrote to Gov M[e]igs Gnl Hull and Major Den[n]y, Crossed ov[er] Sandusky and lodged with Mr Butler—

[Sunday, May the Thirty-first]

31^r Crossed the Sandusky to Mr Varn[u]m—deliv[er]ed my dispa[t]ches to Capt Welch and proceeded on to the foot of the rapids¹ through a tremendous Swamp of 40 m[i]l[e]s Distanc[e], hired a pilote to go with us to Riv[er] Carron² made a bark Cano[e] Crossed gave him two Dollars for his trouble, he returned and we proceeded

¹ The rapids of the Maumee River.—EDITOR.

² Probably a corruption of Carrying River, an old name for Portage River.—EDITOR.

on to the foot of the rapids the Swamp being without intermission from kne[e] Deep to Belly Deep to our horses for 8 or 10 miles to gether. We ar[r]ived at the Miami of the lake¹ at the foot of the rapids at Dusk Swam the riv[e]r and lodged at Capt Hulls where we refreshed ourselves fo[u]nd the inhabitants in a state of alarm and in great Confusion I informed th[e]m of the approaching army assur[e]d them of protecti[on] advised them not to quit the[i]r hom[e]s but to Defend themselves to the last extremity in case of an attack, left a copy of Gnl [Hull's] address to the indians with th[e]m Directed them to Commun[i]cate it to the Indians on Miami, and prepared to proceed on to Detroit

[Monday, June the First]

June 1^t proceeded on to the river Raison Deliv[e]red my Dispa[t]ches to Colo Anderson found the inhabitant[s] in a similar Situation to those at the foot of the rapids made Similar Communications to them, left a copy of Gnl Hulls address with Colo Anderson, and prepared to proceed on my Jo[u]rney, W^m Denny[']s Horse gave out I left him at this place. This is a beautiful Countary but badly cultivated

[Tuesday, June the Second]

2nd proceeded on to Detroit in Company with M^r Beard the contra[c]t[o]r at Detroit, passed near a large encampment of Indians on the River Urian² through Brownstown and Maguawga two Ind[i]an towns found them in a state of Confusion and but few indian men at home. Read Gnl

¹ Where the name Miami of the Lake is used it refers to the Maumee River. The words Maumee and Miami were originally the same.—EDITOR.

² The Huron River.—EDITOR.

Hulls address to George Blue Jacket son to the noted old chief, he appear[ed] pleas[ed] with the Contents and manifested great fr[ie]ndship ar[r]ived at Detroit about 4 ocl[oc]k P M Delivered my dispa[t]ches to the acting Governor was politely received introduc[ed] to the officers of Detroit generally, and treated with great hospitality, lodged at the house of M^r Beard—

[Wednesday, June the Third]

3 Dined with Capt Hickman from Virginia Son in law to Gnl Hull, Solicited by Him to make his house my Home while I tarried at Detroit accepted his offer and was very Politely and hospitably treated by him and M^{rs} Hickman

[Thursday, June the Fourth]

4^r made Considerable inqu[ir]y relative to the situati[o]n of the territo[r]y fo[un]d it to be populated by an ignorant Set of french that is attached to no particular political principal, the territory in a state of alarm, their farms small, and no Correct Calculation to be made on the Militia with regard to Defence The territo[r]y generally like a body without a head—

[Friday, June the Fifth]

5th Dined with M^r Atwater the Acting Governor was politely treated by him—

[Saturday, June the Sixth]

6th Dined with Capt Whistler in the garr[is]o[n] in compa[n]y with a n[um]b[er] of gentlem[en] treated with politeness and sp[en]t the afternoon very agreeably

[Sunday, June the Seventh, to Saturday, June the Thirteenth]

from 7th to 14th tarri[ed] at Capt Hickmans and enjoyed myself very agreeab[ly] read and examined the princi-

pl[e]s of the new tacticks and acquired a general infor-
mat[io]n of the Situation of Michigan territory and Upper
Canada, during which time I was on a hunting party on
hog Island, above Detroit and Sun[dr]y other parti[e]s,
Several Co[n]ne[i]ls with the Indians at the hous[e] of
the acting governor, with the Wiandots Chippaways Otto-
ways Pottawattomi and sundry other tribe[s]—some ap-
pear[e]d insol[e]nt and other[s] extremely fr[i]endly upon
the whole they are in confusion and at a loss how to act
fear Can only restrain th[e]m from joining the British, they
are much alarmed at the news of our approaching army

[Sunday, June the Fourteenth]

14^t Capt Welch having ar[r]ived as an express from the
army handed me a letter from Gnl Hull informing me he
had changed the rout[e] of the army Sinc[e] I left him and
that he would Come immediately from Urbanna to the foot
of the rapids he also handed a letter to Mr B[e]ard the con-
tr[ac]t[o]r M^r Beard wishing to hear from a vessel of his
previ[ous] to his return[ing] an ans[w]er to Gnl Hull Con-
cluded that he would go down the Riv[er] to meet her, my-
self and Capt Welch accompani[e]d him we De[s]c[e]nded
the river witbin a mile of Malden¹ I viewed the Situation of
the British Garrison from on board the vessel while we
was in Sight Queen Sharlotte a British 20 gun ship ar[r]ived
at Maldon with Governor broek² and a reinforcem[e]nt of
a hundr[e]d British troops. We returned to Detroit.

¹ The garrison of the British across the river and some miles below Detroit.
South of the fort was the village of Amherstburgh.—EDITOR.

² Brigadier General Isaae Broek, provisional Lieutenant Governor of Upper
Canada and in command of the British forces.—EDITOR.

[Monday, June the Fifteenth]

15 the day being rainy I remained at Detroit and prepared to Start the next morning to meet the army

[Tuesday, June the Sixteenth]

16th Started and returned to the riv[e]r Raisin fo[u]nd Brownsto[w]n and Maguawga much as they were when I passed through them fo[u]nd William Denny my comerade well.

[Entered on the margin] Met 15 cano[e] loads of Ottoway Chiefs and othe[rs] at the Riv[e]r Urn¹ going to Mald[e]n.

[Wednesday, June the Seventeenth]

17 tarri[e]d at M^r Godfrays at the riv[e]r Raisin waiting for Tho^s Knaggs² an interpreter who was requested by the gov[er]n[o]r to accompa[n]y me to the army was informed by M^r Godfray that Govern[or] Brock returned from Mald[e]n on the 16^t down the lake

[Thursday, June the Eighteenth]

18th returned to the foot of the rapids, met on the way about 40 Indian Horses loaded with wom[e]n children & moving from Solomons town³ and round heads to[w]n⁴ on Scioto and Stony creeke to Detroit (as they said,) or Browns-to[w]n, the men was walking with th[e]m perhaps th[i]rty in number.

¹ The Huron River.—EDITOR.

² One of five brothers, all of whom acted as Indian interpreters and guides. See Knaggs' *Memoir of James Knaggs, of Monroe, in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, 1890, pp. 217-225; also Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, pp. 362, 363.—EDITOR.

³ An Indian town in what is now Logan County, Ohio.—EDITOR.

⁴ An Indian town at the head waters of the Scioto in what is now Hardin County, Ohio.—EDITOR.

[Friday, June the Nineteenth]

19th Started from the foot of the rapids to meet the army proceeded through the Wilderness towards Urbanna—traveled ab[ou]t 25 miles, a very rainy day and encamped in what is called the Black Swamp,¹ had a Disagreeable night of wet and Musketoes

[Saturday, June the Twentieth]

20th proceeded on to Blanchard fork of A[u]glaze Stop[p]ed at an old field, let our horses graise and picked strawberries the while. Crossed the Creek and encamped on the head waters of the great Miami, was Surrounded in the night by hostile Indians as was Supposed, we left our fire and lay in the Bushes without fear the musqueatos and [g]nats tormented us Severely the Indians finding that we was on the alert bore off we Saw the tracks of the dogs next morning and the trail in the grass. I pres[u]m[e] they was a small party of the Pottawattomies, and not knowing our fourc[e], supposing it to be greater than it was they bore of[f] and left us there was but 4 men in compa[n]y 2 of which only had arms, we was informed by Some men from fort wayne at the foot of the rapids that there was a war party of Pottawattom[ie]s out in that Direction

[Sunday, June the Twenty-first]

21^t Started early in the morn[in]g it began to rain and rained tremendously untill about 3 oclock in the afternoon ab[ou]t which tim[e] we reached Round heads town on the head of Scioto we found it entirely deserted by the Indians. we proceeded on to Solomons town on Stony Creek one of

¹ A large swamp in the present counties of Henry, Wood, and Sandusky.—
EDIFOR.

the branches of Mad River we there found Some Indians and made inquiry about the army they informed us they had passed us and taken a rout[e] to shun the black Swamp and directed us where to strike the road. We struck the road and overtook Some Waggons that was taking foreg to the army we encamped with th[e]m got some korn for our horses and provisions for ourselves—

[Monday, June the Twenty-second]

22 proceeded on to fort McArthur¹ on Scioto got our Brakefasts of Capt Dell the Commandant, proceeded on overtook the rear-g[u]ard about 3 oelock P M passed them and came to the ma[i]n army encamped at Camp Necessity a Disagreeable Muddy place,—Delivered my Dispa[t]ches to the gnl, was politely received and thanked for my vigil[a]nce,—invited to remain in the generals family but seeing so many fops and so much parade and no action among them I Chose to attach myself to Gnl McArthurs Regiment, return[e]d and lodged with Gnl McArthur—

[Tuesday, June the Twenty-third]

23rd remained at Camp Nec[e]ssity and erected a Blockhouse, I wrote back to my father and M^r Kendall,² an alarm in Camp that a man was Shot at with an arrow the army alarmed and under arms about Brake of day, I attached myself at the time of the alarm to my Brothers Compa[n]y

[Wednesday, June the Twenty-fourth]

24 Broke up Camp and marched about 4 miles, during this

¹ A fort built about three miles southwest of Kenton, in what is now Hardin County. See Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, centennial edition, Vol. I, pp. 876, 878.—EDITOR.

² A brother-in-law of Robert Lucas.—EDITOR.

march I was on the flanks with the rifle men, but encamped with Capt Lucas

[Thursday, June the Twenty-fifth]

25 the army marched to fort Finley¹ on Blanchards [Fork] of A[u]glaze where we overtook Colo Finleys Regiment who had went on from McArthur to cut the road, here is a Blockhouse erected in a beautifull Situation and a handsome countary

[Friday, June the Twenty-sixth]

26 the army remained at this encampment except Colo Cass Regiment who went on as Pinoneers to Cut the road. here the army left all the baggage that Could be Spared, left Some men to bring them on by water and to keep garrison, this morning Colo Dunlap ar[r]ived from Chillicothe on express

[Saturday, June the Twenty-seventh]

27th the army crossed the Creek and marched about 12 miles and encamped, throwing a breastwork of timber aro[u]nd the Camp, this day I was employed by the gnl in assisting to bring up the bagga[ge] and to go a head in the afternoon to view an incamp[m]ent

[Sunday, June the Twenty-eighth]

28 marched on to Carran² River where we threw up a Breastwork of timber and used great precaution during the night to prevent an alarm

¹ Now Findlay, the county seat of Hancock County, Ohio. Named in honor of Colonel James Findlay, in command of the 2d Regiment of Ohio Volunteers in Hull's campaign. Findlay was later a member of Congress from Ohio and was, in 1834, an unsuccessful candidate against Robert Lucas for the governorship of the State of Ohio.—EDITOR.

² See note on page 357.—EDITOR.

[Monday, June the Twenty-ninth]

29th Marched on to the rapids of Miami of the lake overtook Colo Cass and the whole army encamped on the the east side of the Riv[e]r directly opposite Gnl Waynes old Battle ground I was dispa[t]ched with M^r Berry to view the river and to ascertain the best foarding we found the one at Preskial¹ at the old battleground to be the best and reported accordingly

[Tuesday, June the Thirtieth]

30 This morning I was engaged in conveying the Sick over the river in boats and when the Sick had crossed the genl Concluded to cross the whole army in boats which he did, the Waggons and Horses having crossed at the ford, I then went in compa[n]y with Several gentlemen and a pilote that was in Gnl Waynes Battle² and viewed the battle ground manutely, the ar[m]y this day marched in hand-som[e] ord[e]r through the village at the foot of the rapids and encamped on a prairie about two miles below the village in Sight, below the old British garrison, this garrison has been a well built garrison with regular Basti[o]ns and Ditches with Double walls but is now Demolished, it being the garrison the Indians fled to after Waynes battle

[Wednesday, July the First]

July 1^t the army marched on the 4th Regiment went on as Pinouners this day I was taken with a flux and fev[e]r So that I was Scarcely able to ride, but I advanced on before

¹ Probably refers to Presque Isle Hill, the site of Wayne's battle. See Losing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, pp. 54, 55.—EDITOR.

² Sometimes called the Battle of the Fallen Timbers, fought on August 20 1794.—EDITOR.

the army with the Spies this day the army marched about 12 miles and encamped in a handsome plain, I had a Disagreeable night and took some medicine.

[Entered on
the margin] a Considerable quantity of Baggage, the Sick,
and Considerable of the peoples private prop-
erty Sent on in a vessle

[Thursday, July the Second]

2nd my being onwell I rode on a head to the river Raisin where I met Some gentlemen from Detroit they informed us that Tecumseh¹ was at Malden that there was about two thous[an]d Indians at Maldon and on the river Uran² and Brown[s]town that they Saw about two hundred of the S[i]oux Indians at Brownstown as they passed with the British flag hoisted, and that we Certainly would be attacked before we got to detroit on Receiving this intelligence I Caught new life the fever left me and I prepared and proposed to go on to Brownstown to view the Situation and Disposition of the Indians the proposition was approved by all the officers the army this night encamped on the South Side of the riv[e]r Raison I lodged in a house being onwell and prepared to start next morning

[Friday, July the Third]

3rd I repaired to the General was given the Command of the spi[e]s and started on to brownstown being furnished with a fresh horse by the gnl. The Spies parted and Sco[u]red the Countary in Different Directions my-

¹ A Shawnee warrior and leader of the confederation of Indian tribes forming alliance with the British forces.—EDITOR.

² The Huron River.—EDITOR.

self and five others went to Brownstown and found the Indians instead of hostile array engaged in repairing their houses, they had built a new Councell house Since I had passed through and manifested every appearance of friendship we then repa[i]red to the big Rock¹ the principle Crossing plac[e] to Maldon, found about 30 of the Ottowas Drunk on the bank Could get no Satisfaction from them, The Crafts was all on the Canadian Side the S[i]oux Indians that had been seen at Brownstown having crossed over to Maldon, I prevailed upon the chiefs at this place to return with me to the army to explain to the Genl the Situation of their town and those Indians that had Crossed to maldon, and returned to meet the army in Company with Mr Walker a white man that lives at the Big Rock (the Crossing pl[a]c[e]) and Some Indians. We fo[n]d the army encamped at Swan Creek² strongly fortified by timber about 9 miles from Brownstown, I immediately reported to the Genl my proceedings and discoveries

[Entered on the margin] We was informed to a c[e]rt[ai]nty by the indians that the vessel with our baggage had been take[n] by the British, but that the boat with the Sick had gone up safe

[Saturday, July the Fourth]

4th having been informed that the Indians and British had Crossed from Maldon to Rosial³ Island and probably had

¹ Opposite Malden.—EDITOR.

² A small creek flowing into the Maumee River at Toledo. The early settlement at this point, which later became Toledo, was known as Swan Creek.—EDITOR.

³ Probably intended for Grosse Isle, which lay in the Detroit River opposite Malden.—EDITOR.

Crossed the river above with a view to attack us I was requested by the Genl to proceed on and examine the banks of the river Uron¹ to the river Sacroix,² about 18 miles from the ar[m]y and within the 9 miles of Detroit it being within the white settlement and at the head of the Island. I did So and examined manutely but was advised by the Indians at Brownstown to be Cautious lest we should be killed by Some of the Indians from Malden we was Carefull but went to the extent of our orders we ascertained that no one had Cross[ed] from Canada but heard Considerable Shooting on the Island we on our return was informed by Some friendly Indians, that the British intended Crossing over that night and either to attack the army or Detroit—we returned and made a report of our proceedings to the General—about 11 oclock this night the Genl Sent for me requested me to take Some of the Spies and repair to the big rock to watch the Crossing of the riv[e]r (the army at the time lay at the river Uran¹ having marched but six miles being detained throwing a bridge over the river being ab[o]ut 4 miles from the Big Rock) the army was kep[t] under arms all night the expectations of an attack was Strengthened by the discovery of a British 20 gun Ship Laying in sight of the Camp in the lake which was supposed to contain troops and Could bumbard our Camp from the lake. I obeyed his Command and started went about 3 miles was hailed by a man who spoke english in a very abrupt manner, we wheeled into Bushes and the Compa[n]y that was with me wished to fire on them but expecting an

¹ The Huron River.—EDITOR.

² Probably the River Aux Ecorces.—EDITOR.

en[e]my nigh and our number small being only five or six I thought it prude[n]t to return to the Camp and inform the Genl, thinking that perhaps it might be Some of our own men that might be out unbeknown to me, and if not it must be a party of the En[e]my that had landed from on board the vessel, that might be far Superior to us in number being too far from the Camp to get any assistance, I returned to the Camp made no alarm repaired to the Gnl enquired of him whether any of our men was without the lines he informed me there was none to his knowledge, he requested me to take the Spies about 20 in n[n]mb[e]r and pass the pickets and to scour the Countary and watch the road towards the enemy and endeavor to ascertain who it was and whether there was an en[e]my in tha[t] quarter or not. I did so we passed the pickets about a half a mile or a mile and explored and watched the roads till day— The general was mistak[e]n he had Sent on a party of m[e]n who he had forgot and instead of going to where they was directed they went a peace and lay in the Bushes at the side of the road who on our approach instead of making themselves known was alarmed and acted in this imprudent manner by hailing us not like a friend but an enemy. They may thank me for their lives had it not struck me that it might be Some of our men they would Certainly have been kil[l]ed on meditation I conceive the Gnl acted very imprudent by detaching us that night in the first place to watch the Crossing of the river in the heart of the en[e]my four miles from Camp through a wilderness, and in the second by Sending us with so small a party without the Pickets, had we met an en[e]my in either Case every Soul

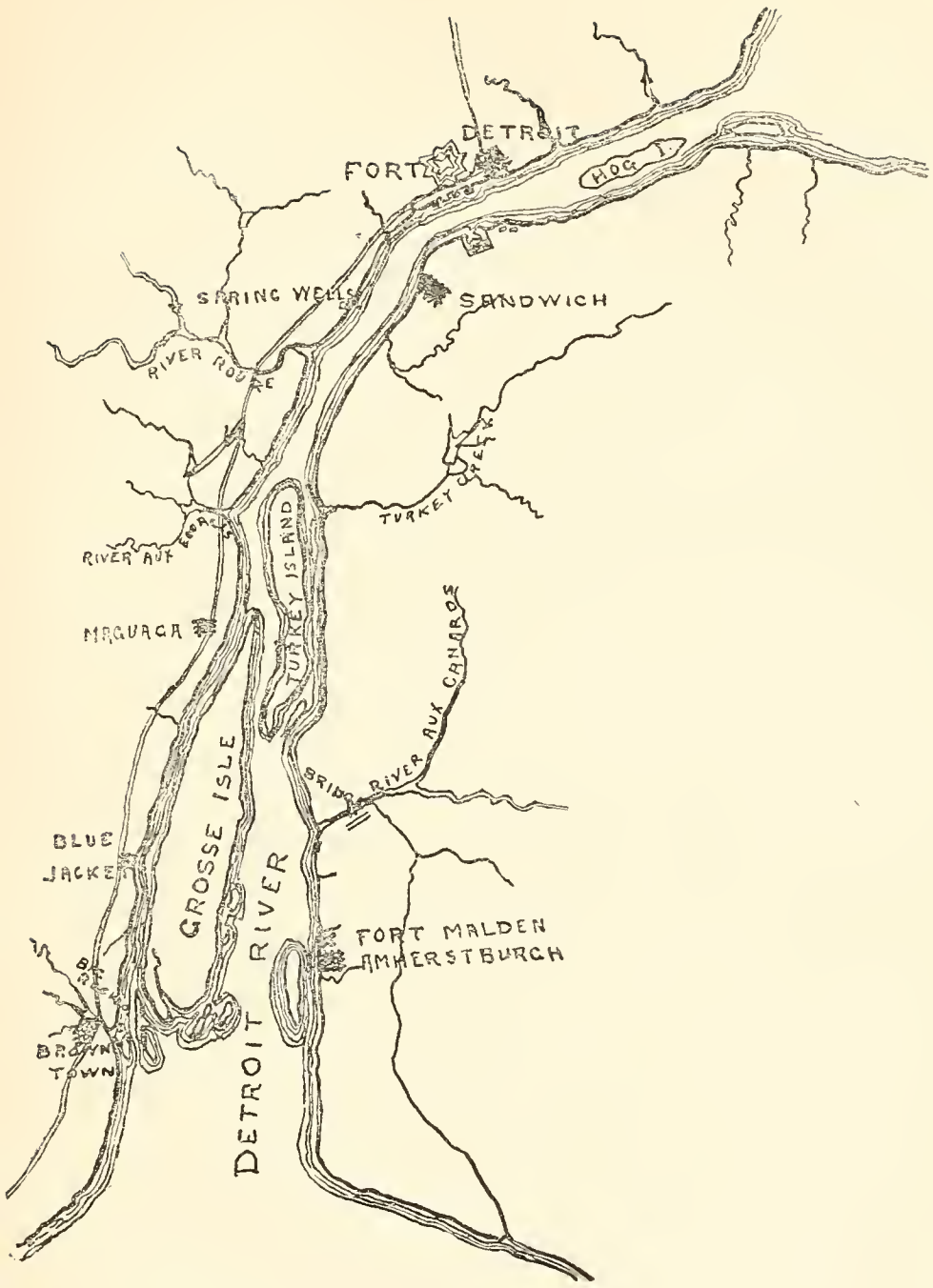
of us must have been Sacrificed as we could have got no assistanc[e] from the army being Such a distan[ce] from it that we would have been intirely Cut of[f] from the army. I thoug[ht] of no fear, nor nothing els[e] but to do my duty at the time, untill I heard the remarks of the offic[e]rs the next day Sev[er]al of them declared they would not have went. My principle is to do my duty whatever may be the task being Satisfied that courage guided by prudence n[e]ver Shortened a mans days—

[Sunday, July the Fifth]

5th the Camp broke up and marched for Detroit I went on ahead as usual, we hea[r]d great firing of Cannon at Detroit. We Supposed that Detroit was attacked as we had heard of a British vessle going up the night before. The Sound of the Cannon hurried our pace and about 4 oelock P. M. the army ar[r]ived at the Spring well on the bank of the Riv[er] opposite Sandwich within three miles and in Sight of Detroit having marched about 20 miles that day where they encamped. The firing that was heard was from the Batt[er]y at Detroit, firing upon the vessle that had come up and upon the town of Sandwich, they having ascertained to a Certainty that the British had taken our vessle that was Sent from the rapids with a quantity of the Baggage of the ar[m]y the offi[ce]rs Mon[ey] papers Cloth[ing] &c and those that was in the vessle five ladies[?] three offic[e]rs and about 30 men¹

[Entered on
the margin] This morning I was in Gnl Hulls Markee and Colo Cass came in, he had been sent to go to

¹ Cf. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, pp. 257, 258.—EDITOR.



Maldon. The Gnl requ[er]est[ed] me to withdraw which I did, for what purpos[e] the man was sent to go to Maldon I know not. Perhaps the Gnl kep[t] it a secret from him as he did from me—on the ar[r]ival of the army the firing ceased being disapproved by the Gnl as injuring private property.

[Monday, July the Sixth]

6th The army remained at the spring Well till evening then marched to Detroit, through the town and returned to the Same encampment—This day a great number of Indians Came into Camp for the purpose of holding a Councill They all profess friendship. 2 Peac[e]s of artil[l]ery brought to the Camp this evening— The people in Canida in great Confusion at the Sight of our army.—

[Entered on the margin] Co Cass went to Maldon with a flag of truce to dem[an]d the private property that was held [?]

[Tuesday, July the Seventh]

7th The army remained at the encampment this day 5 peaces of artil[l]ery was placed on the Bank Directed to Sandwich under the Command of Lieutenant Dallaby.¹ This day the Indians held a Councell with Gnl Hull, the principle Chiefs of the Wyandots ottaways, Chippaways, Shawaneas Senekas Pottawattomi[e]s & Mohawkes were pres[ent] they all profess fr[i]endship and request time to Consult among themselves and to return an answer a Beef was given them by the Genl. This night about 12 oclock an alarm originated in Camp that the Ind[i]ans that was without the

¹ Lieutenant James Daliba.—EDITOR.

Camp had Collected a force and intended to attack the Camp—(Gnl Hull was in town) Gnl McArthur took the command ordered the men under armes and requested me to repair to MrKnag[g]s The Indian Interpreter about $1\frac{1}{2}$ [?] miles to request him to attend in the Camp. I went and returned with the interpreter;—inquiry was made—The alarm was found to be principally unfounded and the men allowed to retire to their tents—

[Entered on
the margin] Colo Cass returned accompanied by a British officer he was admit[t]ed by the Genl into our Camp, the property refused

[Wednesday, July the Eighth]

8th the camp was thought to be in Danger of being bumbarbed by Cannon from Sandwich the whole army was ordered to march a back way to Detroit When the army was about marching Crane the principle Wyandot Chief Came and remonstrated against the Conduct of the Gnl in taking 21 Indian Horses that belong to the S[i]oux Indians that was then at Maldon, (The horses was directed to be giv[e]n to the Wyandott Chiefs,) The Same Chief Said that they all intended to speak with the Same friendly vows and that the Wyandots all intended to use their influence to keep all other nations quiet, at this moment Gnl Hull heard that there was a party of the Kickapoo Indians on the river Raison Sent me out to See them and to ascertain their number and intention. I started immediately and went to the river Raison it being 36 miles where I Stayed all night—

[Thursday, July the Ninth]

9th this morning I went up the river to the Indian Camp I found there 28 Warriors without any Women or Children with them. They was of the Kickapoo nation and the Same fellows that was at the battle with Harrison Some of them show their wounds—They Said there was more of their nation coming—behind them. They was almost naked except Breechcloths and Blankets. They said they left their homes to go to Maldon, but on their being told of our army and that they would all be kil[l]ed if they did go they said they would not go to Maldon but would go to See the Gnl at Detroit The two principle Chiefs started in Company with me and a M^r Thompson for Detroit, we travelled together to Brownstown where the Chiefs stop-[p]ed and said they would Come on the next day. M^r Thompson and myself went on to Detroit, it being late in the night before we ar[r]ived, the Centinels was placed, and the officer of the G[u]ard Could not be found therefore we Could not git into town and had to lay out, we returned to M^r Mays and lay in his poarch all night (The officer of the g[u]ard being of the Detroit Militia)

[Friday, July the Tenth]

10 this morning early I went to the Genl and made my report, he offered me the Command of a Small Company of Spies I observed to him that I would prefer some other station wherein if I Came into action I Could be of more Service in exercising my military talents, and that I would wish to be with Gnl McArthurs Regt he observed he would wish to accomodate me in anything I would wish and if there was any station in Gnl McArthurs Reg[i]ment wherein

I Could be of use it would meet with his intire approbati[on] Gnl McArthur requested me to attend him in Case we Should be attack[ed] and assist him in Directing the manœuvres to which I consented I would. I found the army this day encamped on the Commons at Detroit. This night was pitched upon to Cross the river, and Considerable Confusion took place with the militia a number of th[e]m refused to Cross the river—Those that refused to Cross was Considered by the army as Cowards. The army was almost prepared to march when by accident, Major Munson¹ was badly wounded, and the Camp thrown into confusion. The Gnl pos[t]poned the march till the next day—

[Saturday, July the Eleventh]

11 This day Cappt Cunninghams and Capt Rupe Companys refused to Cross the river, but after Some Statement made by the Colo Cunninghams Company agreed to go Rupe and his Company through obstinacy refused to march. The Genl demanded a list of the names of those that refused to Cross the river Capt Rupe returned his whole Company— The adjutan[t] rashly abused the whole Compa[n]y as Cowards Traitors &c and made a return of them to the Gnl under the head of a list of Cowards under the name of militia, unfortunately attached to Colo McArthur[’s] Reg[i]ment, and then ar[r]ested Captain Rupe— for ungentlemanly and unofficer like Conduct— This night Colo McArthur[’s] Regiment was ordered to march down the River to dicoy the British, they marched down the river about three miles halted a few hours and silently

¹ One of the two Majors of the 3d Regiment of Ohio Volunteers under the command of Colonel Cass.—EDITOR.

returned, taking boats down by water at the Same time,— The project had the desired effect the British Supposed we intended Crossing below Sandwich and they drew all the forces they had down towards Maldon—When the Regiment started B Rankin James Cochran Daniel [—————]¹ and John Lafarge fell in Capt Lucass Company and marched with him Supposing the army intended cross[in]g

[Sunday, July the Twelfth]

12 This morning by daylight the Crafts was all moved up the river to the foot of Hog Island the army all marched up to that place Eusign McDougal and about 15 of Capt Rupes Company followed and Crossed with the Regiment by which they gained considerable However the names was all returned to the Gnl and received—

Colo Cass and the 4th regular Regmt was to cross first I could not endure to be behind I asked permission of Colo Cass and crossed with him and was among the first that landed in Can[a]da. We made our landing good and formed an encampm[e]nt opposite Detroit and raised the American flag without there even being a gun fired at us,— a party of the regulars went down as low as Sandwich and procured some flour wheat &c. out of a mill,—The inhabitants all fled in Different Directions from us. The Gnl immediately circulated his proclamation which gave great satisfaction to the inhabitants and Caused many of them to return and apply for protect[i]on—The inhabitants here are generally ignorant french people— The encampment is formed at the farm of Colo Bawbie² a British Colo, it

¹ This name is not legible.—EDITOR.

² Colonel Francis Babie.—See Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, p. 262.—EDITOR.

affords us fair pasture for horses. and his hous[e] good quarters for the Genl, which is occupied by him as such

[Monday, July the Thirteenth]

13 I went in Company with Capt Ullerys Company and part of Rupes Compa[n]y down towards Malden about 9 miles we found the bridge at turk[e]y Creek brok[e]n by the British and Saw the Signs where about 200 men [had] lay in ambush the night before watching the Bridge that they had broken laying in a posit[io]n that they Could [have] intirely Surrounded a small party had they attempted to Cross the bridge in the night. We was informed by a man that lived at the Bridge that there was a great many Indians Close about there and insisted upon us returning assuring us that it was Dangerous for us to be So far from Camp with So small a party of men—we thought it prudent to return, —we was half way from our Camp to Maldon and had but about 40 men in all, on our return we Saw a fine mare and Horse that the inhabitants said belonged to Colo Bawbie and Capt Magrige [?] two British officers we was requested to bring them to the Gul which we did, he Received them as Enemies property and gave them in charge of the Quartermaster Gul to be disposed of as such—We on our return made a report to the Gul of what we had seen and done,—this night there was an alarm in Camp that the Indians and British was near with an intention of attacking us the army was put in readiness, the Gul Sent for me and requested me to attend to the Padrolls and Picket g[u]ards,—The alarm was fals[e] and little was required to be done,—and my being fateegned by traveling the day before after I found

there was no danger I retired to my tent, and went to Sleep on the ground—(all was well next morning)

[Tuesday, July the Fourteenth]

14th I remained in Camp the men was engaged in throwing up a breastwork round the Camp this night Gnl McArthur with a party of his Reg[*i*]ment started to the river La Trench¹ to take possession of Som[*e*] public property I did not know of the intention of their going so far, or I would went with them

[Wednesday, July the Fifteenth]

15 a number of Deserters from Maldon is daily Coming into Camp and obtaining protection—all appears to be admitted that appli[*e*]s, Some of whome I presume Comes only as spi[*e*]s from maldon into our Camp and gets protection and returns with the news to maldon. The inhabitants are generally returning to their homes,—this is a beautifull countary, fine orchards Meadows, and excell[*e*]nt Crops of wheat which I pres[*u*]me must go to loss for want of Cut[*t*]ing as the men are general[*l*]y impressed and driven to Malden,—this night we remained quiet without an alarm

[Thursday, July the Sixteenth]

16 this day Colo Cass and Colo Miller obtained permission to take a Detachment of men for the purpose of obtaining possession of the Bridge at the River Canard² within 5 miles

¹ The River Thames, a river of Ontario flowing southwestward into Lake St. Clair.—EDITOR.

² The River Aux Canards, flowing westward and emptying into the Detroit River opposite Grosse Isle a few miles above Malden. This river was called by the Wyandots the Ta-ron-tee, and Colonel Cass because of his capture of the bridge on this day was frequently referred to as the "Hero of Ta-ron-tee."—EDITOR.

of Malden. The Bridge we had been informed was broken and occupied by a British force on the opposite side. The Detachment consisted of Capt Snellings company of regulars Capt Reynolds Company of volunteers Capt Spencers Capt Burslers Capt Barrens and Capt Ullery and Capt Robinsons Companies of Riflemen—in all about 200 men,—I was permitted to accompany them as a volunteer myself William Stockton and Samuel Herd of the party of Rangers went in front of the advanced guard, we marched on within 2 or 3 miles of the bridge when we was informed by some of Cavalry that the Bridge was guarded by a British force and Some Indians, also that they had artillery at the Bridge a Sergeant and 12 of Capt Robinsons men was requested to go in front with me as the advanced guard together with the two rangers that had accompanied me, and took a route to Cross the River and Come in upon the Back of the enemy the Balance of Capt Robinsons Company was ordered to advance along the road in sight of the Bridge to keep the enemy in check they advanced and wounded and took two of the British Soldiers that had been posted across the river as Centinels—the balance of the army went up the river with me (except a few Dragoons and a part of the rangers under Capt McCollough and a few other men who Stayed on the Side of the Creek to annoy the enemy)—We ascended the river about 5 or 6 miles (piloted by two frenchmen that we made go with us) crossed the river (myself W^m Stockton and Saml Herd being the first there) and advanced on a rise and kept a look out while the others crossed) we Descended on the opposite side through a tremendous thicket of Bushes and Prickly ash

swamps till we came in Sight of the Bridge. The advanced g[u]ard having intirely skirted the praari and Got some distan[ce] in front halted, in Some woods by the edge of a praari) Colo Cass and Miller by Some meaus marched into the praary in Sight of the Bridge by which means the enemy got Sight of the army, at this time about 50 Indian[s] lay within gun Shot of the advanced g[u]ard, Commanded as we have be[e]n informed by Elliot McKee¹ and Tecumseh which had we proceeded immediately on might have surrounded them but on their getting Sight of the army they raised the yell and jumped and run without even firing a gun at us— The advanced g[u]ard could have Shot Some of them had they not had orders from Colo Cass not to Shoot in case they Saw anything but to immediately inform him. The army under Colo Cass had to turn up a Creek Some distanc[e] before they Could Cross—and when they Crossed they all rushed into the Praari in Sight of the enemy at a half mile or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a miles distanc[e], and halted, the Sight of our own men across the Bridge Confused them Considerably they Supposed them to be the army the whole Stood in this Confused state for perhaps 20 minutes, I was at the time quite in the front on the right wing (I never was more vexed in my life to See men and officers in Such Confusion) The Riflemen was ord[e]red all to take the left flank a[d]join[in]g the woods and to form in line they advanced with great Courage but in bad order.

¹ Mathew Elliott and Andrew McKee, both natives of Pennsylvania, were malignant Tories during the Revolutionary War and had since been prominent in the service of the British in stirring up the Indian tribes against the Americans. The renegade Simon Girty was associated with them.—See Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, pp. 45,46.—EDITOR.

I endeavored all in my power to keep th[e]m in order but in vain (Some of the men Called upon me to take the Command to which I replied that I Could not take the Command from their officers as their own offi[ce]rs was present. The Infantry halted and formed in ord[e]r. T[he] Rifle-men rushed on perhaps 100 yards in front, a firing Com-menced by our men across the Creek, and was returned by the British and Commanded our men when 300 yards Dis-tan[t] a party of Rifle-men was directed to take the woods, they appeared Backward Supposing a body of Indians lay therein, But Capt [_____]¹ myself and Denton Scott (a gentleman who had went with us as a volunteer) rushed into the woods and was followed bravely by Capt Ullerys Com-pa[n]y and part of Capt Rob[in]sons we ran through the point of woods to where the British and Indians had been encamped, by this time our troops that was across the riv[er] Joined us, we fired upon them from the woods, being about 200 yards distan[t] being the nearest we could get to them, they retreated in Such hast[e] that we Could not Come up with them, by this time it began to get dark in the evening, we returned not having one man injured, we left a guard at the Bridge and returned about 1 or 2 miles to Some houses and Barnes and encamped—The Brittish had 2 small field peaces at the Bridge and when they Saw our advanced g[u]ard Sent them of[f].—They was so Skittish that had we Conducted properly and Came in behind them we might have kil[l]ed or taken them all prisoners—there was 150 British Troops in Unifo[r]m and about 50 India[n]s—had they know[n] our force and acted with

¹ The surname is omitted in the original manuscript.—EDITOR.

Courage they might have beat us—This night an alarm went to Camp that there was firing heard and that the Bridge had been attacked a Second time. The Genl. Sent on to our assistan[ce] the whole of the 4th Rgt of Regulars and a peac[e] of artillery under the Command of Lieuten[ant] Eastman with order[s] for us to return to Camp, wher[e] the ar[m]y all was quiet we had kep[t] the bridge peaceably all night—

[Entered on the margin] This day Capt Brown of the regulars went to Maldon with a flag of truce the purport of which is not known to me he was fired upon as he returned The troops all acted with good Courage but not good Conduct the fault is generally in the officers

[Friday, July the Seventeenth]

17 This morning the reinforcem[en]t from the 4th Rgt and artill[er]y having ar[r]ived a Horseman returned from the Bridge stating that the whole British army was a coming on hearing of which Colo Cass myself Capt McCollough and Several others immediately repaired to the Bridge and Crossed over a few Riflemen was Directed to scour the edge of the woods Colo Cass advanced himself to where the British had retreated from the evening before Capt McCollong[h] and myself went about 2 miles down the road toward Maldon before we Saw any person, we then stop[p]ed and viewed two boats in the river loaded with men, which appeared to be assending the river—while we was thus viewing 2 British hors[e]men hove in Sight as Soon as they Saw^d us they wheeled and returned in full speed, the

Back one of th[e]m raised a white flag and the other a red one the one with a red flag tacked about and de[s]cended toward Maldon. We then returned to the Bridge the officers then met and held a Council and all insisted upon evacuating the Bridge except Colo Cass and Capt Snelling, who insisted upon maintaining the post as an important one as it was the only obstruction in the way from where the army was encamped to Maldon,—They being overpowered the Bridge was abandoned and the Detachment returned to Camp without leaving a g[ua]rd to keep the post we had So easily gained. When we returned to Camp we met Colo McArth[ur]s Detachment just arrived from the River La trenc¹ with Considerable public Stor[e]s,—I was now informed that the Sentenc[e] of the Court martial that I left Sit[t]ing on the trial of Capt Rupe was that he should be Cashi[e]red and not permitted to bare arms as an officer in Defence of the United States—(This was a bad manner to fateegue men to take the Bridge and give it up as we fo[un]d it.[])] This night a report Came to Camp that the Queen Charlotte a British armed vessel was Coming up the river Demolishing the houses as she Came and that the British had taken possession of the Bridge and was impressing and plunder[in]g the inhabitants—Colo Finley took the Command of a detachm[en]t and repaired towards the Bridge he went within two miles Saw the Ship lay in the Riv[er] below, and with[i]n Carry of the Bridge detached a small party to the Bridge found that the British had come and Cut away the sil[ls] and erected a breastwork of timber on the opposite side

¹ The River Thames.—EDITOR.

[Entered on the margin] One of the British Soldi[e]rs that was wounded was brought up a prisoner with us, the oth[e]r considered mortally wounded, was left, he died the same day the Indians Came and scalped him and sold his scalp to the British a good trick for an indian to make the British Gov. pay for their own Soldiers Scalps.

[Saturday, July the Eighteenth]

18 Colo Finley returned with his Detachm[e]nt and made report as above stated, I remained in Camp this day and little was done. French Deserters Continually Coming in from Maldon and get[t]ing protection—This evening Capt Snelling Capt Mansfield and part of Cap^t Sloans troop of Horse went on padroll to the Bridge

[Sunday, July the Nineteenth]

19th This day Colo McArthur and a Detachment from his Regiment of about 200 men was ordered down to the Bridge to view the Situati[on] but restricted So as not to go with[i]n reach of the guns of Queen Sharlot[te]. They repaired immediately to the Bridge being about 14 miles from the Camp Capt McCullough Colo McDonald and Several of the rangers and myself went on in front, we found Capts Snelling Mansfield and part of the Dragoons within a mile of the Bridge in a lane, in full view of the Queen Sharlot[te] myself and Several of the rangers went do[w]n within about 200 yards of the Bridge I was sit[t]ing on a gray Horse (that I had got to ride from the Quarter Master Gun mine being worn do[w]n) Viewing the vessle very attentively when I Received a Shot from a Swivel on board a gun boat, that had not been discovered

by us, the Shot was Directed at me and the ball struck the ground about 30 or 40 feet before me, (I heard the nois[e] of the ball before I heard the report) we returned to where the troops were; the boat immediate[ly] rowed up stream with all speed to head us and fired a Second shot at us the ball passed over our heads. I informed Capt Snelling he inquired if we had artillery coming on I informed him we had not he observed that we could not maintain that post without artillery he dispa[t]ched his men through the grass near the bank of the riv[er], I passed up the lane and hitched my Horse and returned as I returned, I passed by Several Hors[e]men standing in the lane, when a Shot was Directed at them the Ball passed over them Capt Snellings men rose from the grass and fired upon th[e]m the boat returned in great hast[e] whether any person was injured on board or not is unknown—at this time Colo McArthur's Detachment ar[r]ived, Capt Snell[i]ngs & Mansfield Compa[n]ys and Dragoons returned, Colo McArthur Adjut Puthuff and a number of the Riflemen went withi[n] Shot of the British troops at the Bridge a number of Shots was exchanged on both sides no injury was done to us we Supposed several of the British and Indians were killed or wounded as Several was seen to fall at the report of the guns, (I took four fair shots myself but do not know whether I injured any person or not) James Cochran of Capt Rup[e]s Comp[an]y who left the Company at Detroit and Came over and Joined Capt Lucas Compa[n]y behaved bravely he got down behind a log and lay and Shot all his ammunition away at them, one man was Seen to fall at one of his Shots after he had Shot his ammunition away he

blackg[u]arded them and Cursed them for Cowards and dared them to Come over the Riv[e]r, We fired at them in this way for amusement till we was tired and retired to the army about a mile back. In the afternoon Colo McArth[u]r and his adjut[a]nt Surgeon went down to where we had been before to take a view of them before we return[ed] when they was fired upon by Some Indians that had Crossed the River at the Bridge and lay in the grass and Bushes the troops was enraged at their Colo being fired upon, they all rushed forward. Capt Lucas Company nearly all being present, Capt Lucas was directed to command the right wing and Capt Pinney the left they rushed on drove the Indians which was about 40 or 50 in number across the river and exchanged Several fires with the British and Indians across the river. I at this time was on hors[e]back on the right wing assisting to keep the troops in order. I Saw the Indians flank off from the Breastwork at the Bridge and Crall through the grass Some of them got tolerably close to our men— Our order was such that we Could not keep the bridge if we took it. we was ordered to returned, and when we returned the Indians Crossed the river again and fired upon us we halted faced about and fired upon them Several times. Two of our men was wounded, a M^r Mellon of Capt Fryatts Compa[n]y and a M^r Williams of Capt Cunni[n]ghams Company, but neith[er] mortally, (Several Indians took Sight at me for Several Shots as I was on a gray Hors[e] and the only one that was on Hors[e]back on the right wing—The balls whissled merrily, but none touched me, in the heat of firing. I was diverted to See Some of the boys Dodge at

the whisteling of the balls—we returned two or three miles and met Colo Cass and his Rgt and a peac[e] of artillery he insisted upon going back to give them a fire with this Cannon, notwithstanding the orders of the Gnl was not to Cross the Bridge, during the firing Several Shots from Queen Charl[ot]te and the gun boat was fired at us but none had effect, Colo McArth[u]r at the request of Colo Cass returned and encamped in the houses and Barns within a few miles of Bridge the Boys all acted with great courage, one of Capt Lucases Comp[an]y by the name of McGill got his gun choaked in the heat of the action and at a time when we expected to be met by an equal or Superior foure[e], he deliberately took the Barrel out of the stock on Briched his gun Drove out the load, Briched her put her in order and loaded and Shot five rounds afterwards during the Contest. it is an astonshing thing to me that no more of our men was wounded altho[ugh] we was at a considerable distanc[e] the balls generally went over our heads, we understand that Several of the British have been kil[l]ed and wounded—

[Entered on
the margin] Colo M'Arthur had his horse wounded in the forehead It is truly distressing this evening to see Women and Children run[n]ing for their houses thos[e] in favor of the Britis[h] for fear of us those in favor of us for fear of the British Those whose fortunes it is to reside at the seat of war must experienc[e] trouble—

[Monday, July the Twentieth]

20th The Colonels Cass McArth[u]r myself and Several others went to view the situation of the British troops

at the Bridge we Saw that they had artillery at the Bridge, Colo McArthur was oppos[e]d to fategui[n]g the men in bringing them up to action against artillery when they had not an equal Chanc[e], but Colo Cass and Major Trimble insisted upon giving them a shot, accordingly the two regiments marched down Colo McArthur requested me to take two Rifle Companys and flank to a Point of wood that they Sup[p]osed the Indians would make to in order to Come upon the[i]r flank I did so. I advanced to the woods Sco[u]red them found there was no indians in them and posted myself in the edge of the wood as I had been directed to watch the movem[en]t of the Indians, while I was Sco[u]ring the woods I heard Shot from Cannon and I Saw them retreating they advanced and Shot three Shots from a Six pounder at the British and received Several Shots from Swivels and nine pounders from the British, they retired without a man being hurt after the army had retreated I was directed to retreat also which I did and overtook the army in about 4 miles had the en[e]my immediately rushed in after the army retreated they might have Cut of[f] my retreat as the officers did not let me know that the army had gone till they had got Some distance. We all returned to Camp in Safety, but much fategued and very Hungary being nearly two days without much to eat—There appears to be a mistery in these proceedings, if the bridge was wo[r]th contending for, why did we not keep it when we had it, if it is not an object why fategue troops in Sending them to it 15 m[i]l[e]s from camp. I fear that these proceed[i]ngs will prove injurious to us—

[Tuesday, July the Twenty-first]

21^t I Remained in Camp there was no alarm. The general returned to Detroit, and Several Companies of the regular Regiment Colo McArth[u]r acts as Commandant he directs the rangers to start to morrow morning to explore the Back Countary and search for a road a Back way to fort Maldon —The army get[t]ing Sick Considerably, and I fear that they will Suffer the eusn[i]ng Season—The artificer is engage[d] in making pike Irons and mounti[n]g artillery, the Ship Carpenter[s] are engaged at Detroit in riggin[g] the Brig Adam[s]¹ Calculated to Car[r]y 16 guns

[Wednesday, July the Twenty-second]

22^d Crossed over to Detroit and Received orders from Colo Miller of Ohio to repair to Chillicothe² immediately to attend to the recruiting Serv[i]ce &c, in Consequence of which orde[r]s I have this day been deprived of going with the rangers to explore the back road to Maldon,—this day there has been an alarm in Camp that there was Indians Seen a few miles below Camp a party of men went out but made no discoveries. The army remained quiet

[Thursday, July the Twenty-third]

23 This morning Capt McCollough and the rangers returned, they had explored as far as the River Canar³ They saw a great many Indian signs they did not Cross the Riv[e]r, as they heard Considerable Shooting on the opposite side of the River, they say a good road Cannot be had

¹ This vessel, taken by the British when Detroit was surrendered, was afterwards used in the British service under the name of the "Detroit."—EDITOR.

² See below, Appendix B.—EDITOR.

³ The River Aux Canards.—EDITOR.

back they went down the River in Sight of the Bridge they Saw a number of British and Indians there they appeared to be engaged with repairing the Bridge or erecting a Battery,—a party of Indians discovered them and tried to Surround them, they Saw the Indians and made their escape,—report said that 50 Indians was on yesterday Several miles above the bridge in Compa[n]y with a merchant from Sandwich—also that the proph[e]t¹ had ar[r]ived at Maldon with a reinforcement of Indians (Why does the army dally, why do they not make the Stroke on Maldon at once, had proper energy been used, we might have been in Maldon now, we are tampering with them untill they will be able to drive us back across the river,—or at least I fear that will be the Case if there is not an alteration in the proceedings if it is not, it must be owing to the Defect in the British Commander) Our conduct has at least incouraged them much and increased the number of our enemies;—had the Bridge been kept when we had it, untill the whole army was prepared to march all would have been well—

[Friday, July the Twenty-fourth]

24 Major Denny with a Detachment of about 150 men under the Command of Capt Lucas Pinny and Rose accompani[e]d by Capt McCullock H Fowler Stockt[o]n W^m Denny Avery Powers of the Rangers, Started down to the Bridge for the purpose of Waylaying and Cut[t]ing of[f] a Detachment of Indians that was reported to [be] ranging in the woods, in that quarter they marched down in the

¹ The Prophet, so called because of his reputed prophetic powers, was a brother of the Shawnee warrior, Tecumseh, and was associated with him in organizing the Indians into a confederation hostile to the Americans.—EDITOR.

evening within sight of the British encampment at the Bridge, and lay concealed in a wheat field all night, without inter[r]uption,—

[Saturday, July the Twenty-fifth]

25 This morning W^m Stockton being onwell returned to the Camp, a Short time after Avery powers being like onwell left the detachment and returned as far as turk[e]y Creek when he was fired upon by a party of Indians and killed Several balls was Shot through his body he was tomahawk[e]d but not Scalped. The Indians it appears from information of the inhabitants was brought up to that place by a Certain french Capta[i]n Bonty, by water for the purpose of waylaying the detachment that was down with Major Denny. Major Denny it appears made Considerable ranges through the Countary, fell in with Capt Bonty who pertended to be going to reap his harves[t], he was inter[r]ogated and found to be an officer in the British Servic[e] and was taken prisoner,—and Sent on to Camp under the Care of Ensign Baird and a small detachm[e]nt of men,—after the prisoner had been Sent the Detachment under the Command of Major Denny took a Circuitous rout[e], through the woods and being much fateegued halted in a grove of woods to rest, the troops generally fell a Sleep, and was reposing in this position when a detachment of Indians was Seen near them, they arose and fired upon the Indians, killed Several and got the musket that was taken from Avery powers in the morning, the Indians was pursued until they was reinfor[ce]d part of the detachm[e]nt under Maj[o]r Den[n]y retreated in Disorder without making any defence The Major found himself likely to

be outflanked by the enemy ordered a retreat, they were pursued by the Indians and a party of British for Several miles, to turk[e]y creek Bridge. They lost Six men this day in all Killed and taken prisoners,—an express came into Camp with an acco[u]nt of the Death of Avery Powers I immediately on hearing the news started with a part of Capt Robinsons Rifle Company to reinforce Major Denny and to bring in the Dead. I rushed on in hast[e], and met the Major at turk[e]y creek the plac[e] where Avery Powers lay. I proposed going back to meet the Indians, but the men with Major Denny being much fateegued and Consider[in]g our fource not Suffieient the proposition was not agreed to we accordingly returned to Camp and took the body of Avery powers a very brave man with us. Capt McCollock this day killed and Scalped an Indian it being the only Scalp that was taken, altho[ugh] Several indians was Seen killed, Major Denny attaches great credit [to] the detachm[en]t under the Command of Capt Lucas and Lieut Mur[p]hy[?], and a part of Capt Rupes Company—

[Sunday, July the Twenty-sixth]

26 This morning we inter[r]ed our mes[s]mate, Avery powers with the honours of warr—there was a vessel Seen Coming down the River with British Couolors she was fired upon and brought to She proved to be one of the american vessles that had be[e]n taken at Michil[1]imac[k]anac[k]¹ and had been Cartailed as private property she

¹ The fortress of Michillimaackinack, more commonly shortened to Mackinaek or Maekinaw, on the northernmost point of the peninsula of Michigan, was, on July 17, 1812, captured by the British, the American eommander having received no notice of the declaration of war.—See Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, p. 270.—EDITOR.

had on board Som[e] of the prisoners that was taken when the garrison at Michil[1]imackin[ack] was taken, she was ordered under our Battery and there to remain—

[Monday, July the Twenty-seventh, to Monday, August the Third]

from the 27th to the 3rd of August the nothing of Consequence was done, there was a fort ordered to be built at Gowris¹ about a half mile below the Camp, I had prepared to return to Chillicothe agreeably to orders but by the interfere[n]ce of the Colonels and the Gnl I consented to remain with the army, and again attached myself to the rangers, we were frequently engaged in reconnoitering the Countary around the Camp and of nights laying out watching for the en[e]my, during the above periods an express ar[r]ived from Chillicothe informing us that Capt Brush was a Coming with a volunteer Compa[n]y to join us and had with him a quantity of provisions, knowing the Communication was Cut of[f] and that if he attempted to pass Brownstown he would be attacked by the British and Indians Colos McArthur and Cass Solisited the Genl to let them go with a Detachment of men to meet him, and thereby Secure him and the provision their requests were repeatedly refused, and Considerable dissatisfaction prevailed in Camp in Consequen[ce] thereof

[Entered on the margin] during the above periods Gul Hull requested of me and Capt Knaggs to attempt to take Tecumseh the Indian ch[i]ef he recommended us to disguise ourselves and to go among the Indians at Maldon. I was willing to do anything I was

¹ See Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, p. 277.—EDITOR.

ordered but not to act foolis[h]ly, had we made the attempt agreeable to his plan we would been both take[n], instead of taking Tecumseh, perhaps that was his wish—

[Tuesday, August the Fourth]

4th August—having been informed that a party of British and Indians had Crossed turk[e]y Creek and that two British officers had advanced within 4 miles of our Camp, Capt McCollock W^m Stockton Edward fowler Montgomery McCull and myself went in Search of them we proceeded as far as turk[e]y creek we ascertained that there had been a party of the British and Indians there the day before and had driven of[f] a quantity of the inhabitants Cattle and were expected there again that day, we went as far as was thought pruden[t] and took a cross the Countary for Sev[er]al miles back, we Saw Sev[er]al British or Indians riding at a distance from us but on seeing us they made of[f] from us we returned to Camp and reported accordingly—on our return we was informed that the Gnl had Consented to Send a Detachment of about 150 men under the Command of Major Van horne¹ to escort the male and to join Capt Brush at the river raisin, Capt McCollock applied to the Gnl for liberty to accompany them with the rangers. The Gnl refused to let them all go, but granted him liberty to take half there being but Six fit for duty, he Selected W^m Stockton and Edward fowler to accompa[n]y him in Consert with myself the detachment having marched we four Crossed the riv[e]r in the evening and proceeded

¹ Thomas B. Van Horne was one of the Majors of the 2d Regiment of Ohio Volunteers under command of Colonel Findlay.—EDITOR.

on after them and overtook them at the riv[e]r Rush¹ the whole proceeded on after night to the Riv[e]r Sacroix,² where we lay in the Bushes all night, McCollough Fowler Stockton and myself lay toge[t]her on the left flank the remainde[r] of the night—

[Wednesday, August the Fifth]

5th We arose at Day brake and got our horses and took a rout[e] around the Detachment, we ascertain[e]d by the tracks in the road and trails in the grass that there had been a pa[r]ty of Indians watching us dur[i]ng the night, it was a beautiful clear morning, we advanced to the riv[e]r and heard the Sound of oars of boats rowing—but at Such a distanc[e] that they could not be Seen for a fog that rose a few feet above the water,—The Detachment prepared and we proceeded on the march Capt McColloch and myself advanced in front for Some distance frequently turning across to the river to See if there was not men crossing from Canada, we passed through the Indian village of Maguawga and found the villag[e] intirely evacuated (the Indians that resided at maguawga had always express[e]d the most extr[e]m[e] friendship for the Americans) we open[e]d Several houses and found that all the property had been removed, we proceeded on with great care to a place known by the name of the Big-Appletree Capt McColloch and myself was then together, the Capt alighted from his horse; and I proceeded on, the roads forked one round the right of an Indian Cornfield and the other on the left. I took the right hand road and was accompanied by

¹ Probably the River Rouge.—EDITOR.

² Probably the River Aux Ecorces.—EDITOR.

Capt Barran who was the[n] on W^m Stocktons Horse we proceeded on with care and had passed the Cornfield leaving the field between us and the river, unfortunately for Capt McColloch he took the left hand road round the field he was accompanied by a Black man waiter to major Van horne, they was fired upon by 12 or 14 Indians, as Soon as we heard the report of the guns I exclaim[ed] that McColloch was fired upon and requested the men in front to form a line across to the riv[er] and to advanc[e] to the place where the fire was being about 150 yards in the rear of us and between the main body and the river, we don[e] so in front and had the rear performed the Same manevor we might have killed all the Indian[s], the rear g[ua]rd at the fire was thrown into Confusion, the Indi[an]s scalped and tom[ah]awked McCollo[c]h ran across the Cornfield fired upon the rear g[ua]rd and made the[i]r escape without being hurt, we brough[t] in McColloch and the other man, McColloch was shot one ball through his body two through his breast and one through his thigh. I Carried him and put him in a hous[e], laid him on a plank and Covered him with Bark being the best I Could do at that time, this transactio[n] took place about an hour by Sun in the morning, and while we was bringing in the Dead we was overtaken by a part of the Cavalry from Detroit and Several gentlemen armed that wished to pass through to the river raisin, we was here informed by a frenchman that there was a body of three or four hundred Indians and Some British waylaying us at brownstown, we had been So much accustom[e]d to the fals[e] Statements of the french that we paid no attention to the report but proceeded on, our De-

tachment was formed in the following order three of the Cavalry in front of each Column of the front guard the front Guard Consisted of about 24 men in two columns, from Capt Robinsons Rifle Company the right Commanded by Ensign Roby and the left by a Sergeant of Said Company, the detachment marched in two lines or columns, as follows, Capt Rupe in front, Capt Robinsons, and Capt Spencers Rifle Compan[ie]s formed the right Column, Capt Barren in front Capt Ullery and Capt Gilchrean¹ formed the left column, and Capt Boerstlers Company formed the rear guard, the two Columns marched where the ground would admit about 100 yards apart, the mail and the horsemen that escorted the mail was between the Columns, a part of the Cavalry was in the rear with the rear guard, thus formed Major Vanhorne requested me to assist him in Communicating orders to the lines which I Consented I would, we marched on in this order for four or five miles, till we approach[ed] near Brownstown into a defile through which we had to pass, as we approached the defile I rode along the the right column and requested of the men to see that their guns were fresh primed assur[ing] them that their Safety depended on on their arms and their Valor and pointing out the place told them that if we met an enemy at all that day that it would be there, the road here passes through a narrow parari Surrounded on the right by a Mirey Creeck which Cannot be crossed but at the one place for Some distan[ce] up and on the opposite Side Covered with thick Bushes, on the left

¹ This officer was evidently Captain Robert Gilchrist, who was killed in the battle that followed.—EDITOR.

flank was a n[un]ber of small Indian Cornfields and thickets of Bushes, the indians lay in the Bushes on the opposite Side of the Creek from us immediately on the bank in our front and right flank and in the Cornfields on the left flank, the flank had to close at this place in order to Cross the Creek within 40 or 50 yards of each other, as Soon as I had Cautioned the right flank I rode up in front betwe[n] the lines to Major Vanhorn[e], in compa[ny] with W^m Stockton the hors[e]men on the flanks was just entering the Creek and myself Major Vanhorn[e] and W^m Stockton was of a breast in front between the lines, and had advanced within 25 or 30 yards of the Indians when we was fired upon, the first fire appeared to be principally directed at us that was a hors[e]back. My Horse and Wm Stocktons was shot mine wheeled and gave a fierce lunge and pi[t]ched against a horse that had his fore leg broke and pi[t]ched me off in the fall my gun flew out of my hand I raised and looked round for my gun but not Seeing it, and Seeing the Indians rushing out of the Bushes in front and a heavy fire from them at me on the left I ran into the ranks of Capt Barrens Compa[n]y without my gun and requested them to form and fire upon the Indians which they did at the first fire M^r Fowler and Sev[er]al other[s] was kil[l]ed, the fire Soon was gen[er]al on both Sides, and finding ourselves overpowered and likely to be Surrounded the major ordered a retreat, we retreated in as good order as we possibly could from our situation, halting and firing upon the en[em]y where occation would admit, altho[ugh] Some retreated in a Dastardly manner never firing upon the en[em]y at all, but yet the precipitait retreat

answered in a good as it prevented the Indians and British that was detached for that purpose from Cut[t]ing of[f] our retreat— The Indians followed us about three miles, we retreated to the Riv[e]r Sacroix¹ and got a cano[e] and Sent the wounded up to detroit by water, in this act[io]n we lost 17 men Killed and Sev[e]ral Wounded among the killed were Capt[a]ins McColloch Ullery Gilchrane and Boerstler who was mortally wounded and died of his wound at Detroit, Lieutenant Pentz and Ensign Roby, and Allison all valuable officers,² on our return to detroit we met a strong reinforcement Coming to us but it was too late to render us any ser[v]ice and they returned and Crossed to the Camp at Sandwich, there was a number of our men that Saved their lives by hiding in the thickets when they were closely pursu[e]d by the Indians and lay Concealed till nig[ht] and then came on. Our escape this day is marvelous we were attack[ed] 18 miles from Detroit by about three times our force, when our en[e]my had every advantage of the ground and the first fire upon us, from the best information I can get the enemys loss was much greater than ours, the heaviest loss was on the rangers, 4 Started a hors[e]back to attend the Detachment, to wit McColloch Fowler Stockton and myself, McColloch and Fowler was Killed Stockton and myself returned a foot, both having had our Horses Shot under us—

¹ The River Aux Ecorces.—EDITOR.

² “ Among the killed were Captains William M'Cullough, Robert Gilchrist, Henry Ulery, and Jacob Boerstler; Lieutenant Jacob Pentz, and Surgeons Edward Roby and Andrew Allison.”—Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, p. 277, note. See also General Hull's Letter to the Secretary of War, August 7, 1812.—EDITOR.

[Thursday, August the Sixth]

6th Colo^s McArthur and Cass Solisited Gnl Hull for liberty to take a Detachment of men and go to Brownstown to inter the Dead, that had unfortunately been Killed the day before but was positively refused a Detachment Sufficient

[Friday, August the Seventh]

7th this morning Genl Orders issued for the army to draw 5 days provision to have three days cooked and prepare themself[ves] against the next morning to take the field against the en[e]my. Major Den[n]y was directed to stay in the fort at Gowris with 150 Men but by Solicitation Capt Cook of the 4^t Regt was allowed to stay with him those that was to Stay in the fort was the Convelessent that was not able to take the field, the expected attack was on Maldon every Countenance was cheered and their spirits raised with a prospect of having liberty to act in Defence of their Countury, but to the[i]r great Supprise and dissatisfaction in the dusk of the evening the Orders for taking the field was Comprimanded and the army was ordered to recross the Detroit River to detroit after night which was done, or at least as many as Could be Crossed till daylight, (and from this time will be recorded the Dastardly evacuation of Sandwich by Gnl Hull Contrary to the general wish of all his troops)

[Saturday, August the Eighth]

8th this morning the balanc[e] of the army that could not cross last night was Conveyed over the riv[e]r and the waggens and baggage, and the whole encamped back of the town of Detroit near the Fort, and in the afternoon a Detachm[e]nt under the Command of Colo Miller Consist-

ing of the 4th Rgt one Compa[n]y from McArth[u]rs Rgt under the Command of Capt Lockhart one from Colo Finleys under the Command of Capt Brown and one from Colo Cass under the Command of Capt Sanderson and Capt Sloans troop of Horse one Compa[n]y from Detroit under the Command of Capt Delandri¹ and two peaces of Small Ordinance under the command of Lieut Eastman & Dallaby² making in the whole about 650 men Started to the river Raison to meet Capt Brush and bring in the provisions he had with him

[Sunday, August the Ninth]

9^t this day was Spent at Detro[i]t in moving the encampment, and in the evening we heard of Colo Miller having had an obstinate battle with the indians and British at Maguawga and had beat them Colo McArthurs Rgt was ordered to take boats and Some provision[s] and to immediately de[s]cend the Riv[e]r to Maguawga to bring up the wounded, the Regiment repaired to the boats as quick as possible and de[s]cended the river it being a very Dark and rainy night from Correct information the Combat at Maguawga was an obstinate one the Indian Spies fired upon the advanced g[ua]rd of the army in the morning about two miles from the river Sacroix³ Killed a Mr White from Detroit and wounded a Horseman the army advanced formed the line of Battle inter[re]d the dead man Sent back the wounded and proceeded on in line of Battle the line broke in Short colum[n] Capt Snelling Commanded the front

¹ Captain Antoine Dequindre.—EDITOR.

² Lieutenant James Daliba.—EDITOR.

³ The River Aux Ecorces.—EDITOR.

g[u]ard Capt Lockhart the rear the Militia on the wings and the regular troops in the center—they marched in this order a few miles past the village of Magnawga when the front Guard was fired upon by a party of British and Indians Captain Snelling maintained his ground in a most gallant manner, under a very heavy fire, untill the line was formed and advanced to the ground he occupied, when the whole except the rear g[u]ard was brought into action. The enemy was formed behind a temporary breast work of logs The Indians extending in a thick wood on their left, the Colonel Ordered his whole line to advance, and when within a small distance of the enemy made a general discharge and proceeded with charged Bayonets, when the whole British line and Indians commenced a retreat they was pursued by our troops in a most vigorous manner for a considerable distance, the victory was compleete in every part of the line, and Success would have been more brilliant had the cavalry charged the enemy on the retreat when a most favorable oppertunity presented. It has been stated that Capt Sloan refused to charge when ordered & that he gave up his hors[e] to Capt Snelling to make a charge—Majors Morrison & Van horn[e] Commanded as Majors in the action and is stated to have acted with great bravery an[d] untir-[in]g exertions, (Major Morrison had his horse killed under him) Capt Brown from Colo Finleys Regt Commanded the right wing and Capt Sanderson from Colo Cass', Regt the left, who both Disting[u]ished themselves, as gallant officers, also Captain Delandre¹ of the Michigan volunteers—There was in this action of the 4 U S Rgt 10 Noncomd

¹ Dequindre.—EDITOR.

officers and privates Killed and 45 wounded—In the Ohio and Michigan Militia 8 were killed and 13 wounded. There was no officers Kill[ed] but were wounded, Capt Baker of the 1^t Reg^t Lieut^s Larabee and Peters of the 4^t Regt, Ensign Whistler of the 17^t Lieut Silly and Ensign Flisher of of the Ohio and Michigan Militia—

[Monday, August the Tenth]

10th Colo McDonald and myself Started from Detroit to meet the Detachment under the Command of Colo McArth[u]r to assist with the wounded to Detroit. We Started with two Companies of Michigan Militia under the command of Capt Knaggs and Captain Schley[?], the whole Commanded by Colo Godfrey It rained tremendously from the time we left Detroit till we ar[r]ived at the River Sacross¹ where the men was ordered to fire of[f] their guns, —Such Confusion I never Saw in men pertending to be under any Subordination. Indeed I would [have] Considered myself more Safe with a Dozen of the Ohio Volunteers, and could have made a more formidable defenc[e] in case we had been attacked than Could have been don[e] by the whole of those two Companies. We proceeded on undisturbed to the village of Magnawga, wher[e] we Saw a gun boat loaded with men assending the river, my advice was to leave a party at that place to Keep them in check and prevent their landing, and for the ballance to proceed on as quick as possible to meet the Detachm[en]t my advice was not attended to, the whole marched on in confusi[o]n till within a mile of Colo Millers Camp when they met a man that told them that Colo McArthur had ordered, them to

¹ The River Aux Ecorces.—EDITOR.

return back to Magnawga. They all returned and found the British Brig Hunter laying across the channel to intercept our boats. She fired Several Shots at us. Colo McArthur, on the Sight of the brig Stopt the boats and landed the wounded that was able to walk, Sent them round from the riv[e]r and pushed the boats up to the lower end of the village of Magnawga where they was met by Some waggons. Colo McArthur attended to unloading the wounded himself he Carried Several of them out of the boat, himself, and had them Securely placed in waggons. Several Shots was fired at them while they was unloading the boats, and when the wounded was all put into waggons the Colo left the boats, and Marched for Detroit with the wounded my Brothe[r] and a part of his Company was with the colo I placed myself at their head as the front g[n]ard. The British Continued to fire upon us as we marched up the river but without effect, we advanced as far as the River Sacross¹ where we expected to be intercepted by a party of British and indians, when we came in Sight we Saw a gun boat laying in the river opposite the Bridge over the River Sacross¹ which we was obliged to cross, we advanced on expecting every moment to receive a show[e]r of grape shot from the guns aboard, the gun boat lay to, and never fired as we crossed the bridge, which led us to believe there was a party of Indians waylaying us on our flank, and that She was only amusing us, as quick as I Crossed the Bridge, flanked of[f] with my detachm[e]nt and examined, but found none. The boat fired at the rear as it passed, but to no effect, (I presume she was afraid we had artillery with

¹ The River Aux Ecorces.—EDITOR.

us which prevented her firing upon our front. She might have done executi[o]n had she kep[t] up a fire upon us as we crossed the bridge,—) We ar[r]ived that evening safe at Detroit with the wounded. The man that turned us back at Magnawga, Did it without any orders from Colo McArthur, And was thereby very near throwing all our wounded into the hands of the british had we been detained one half hour longer, we would have lost them, as there was Sev[e]rel boats loaded with men coming in Sight when we left the boats,—never was there a braver or better hearted man than Colo McArthur. This day the British Received a reinforcement of 400 men from down the lake

[Tuesday, August the Eleventh]

11 This day Major Denny was ordered to evacuate and destroy the fort in Canada opposite Detroit,—Gowris house that was in the fort was also consumed. It was Set on fire by Some person, and Major Denny extinguished the fire but after he Crossed the riv[e]r to Detroit, it was consumed.—There ap[p]ears to be nothing doing at this place today, The British was up oppisite Detroit, Soon after Major Denny crossed the riv[e]r, It is stated that Colo Miller is ordered back to Detroit, without accomplishing the object for which he started, and for which the lives of many valuable men have been lost—!!! My God what proceedings—

[Wednesday, August the Twelfth]

12th I was this morning at the w[h]arf and Saw a boat De[s]cending the riv[e]r with a white flag, (at first Sight I thought it was coming up the riv[e]r) and on enquiry I was informed that it was a flag of truce Sent by Gnl Hull to

Maldon,—The flag Soon returned and on enquiring the caus[e] of its returning So Soon I was inform[e]d that they had met Gul Brock at Sandwich, and that the British had established the[i]r head quarters there I enquired the particular caus[e] of the flag being sent but could not ascertain it This day I met the Contract[o]r Mr Beard in the street, and enquired of him the state of our provisions, he informed me that he had 20 days provisions then in Store and mentioned to me where he could get a considerable quantity of flour, he also stated to me that it would be necessary for the army to recross the river and to attack Maldon, immediately or else to Capitulate, as the British was reinforcing and would attack Detroit[?] they could not otherwise Save the property at Detroit. I observed to him that the army had been prevented from going to Maldon when they wished and had been forced across the riv[e]r from canada against their will. I did not think that they would again cross willingly under the present commander, that all confidence in him was lost, and I thought if the fort must be Surrendered, that the Ohio volunteers would never consent to be Surrendered as prisoners of war, nearly to save the private property at Detroit, he felt much agitated at the Idea, I found from his conversation that that an arrangement of that kind had been talked of and I was led to believe that the flag of truce that had be[e]n sent to the british in the morning had been Sent for that purpose,—knowing Mr Beard to be one of Genl Hulls confidential fr[i]ends I was convinced from the Substance of his conversation, that the Genl had it then in contemplation, to Surrender us as prisoners of war, in case there Should be

an attack on Detroit by the British, and from his conversation it appeared as if he knew what was a going to be done by the British, and how we would have to act on our part,—Colo McDonald was present during the greater part of the conversat[i]on—I informed Colo McArthur the substance of the conversation, and expressed my fears that a Capitulation was intended by the Gn!—I then wrote a letter to Major William Kendall of Portsmouth Ohio, a Copy of which is as follows

Detroit 12th August 1812

Dear Sir,

I have the mortification to announce to you, that on the evening of the 7th inst[a]nt while waiting with anxiety for liberty to march to Maldon, that the american Army was ordered by their Gen! to recross the river to Detroit, and thereby have been prevented from plucking the laurels that has heretofore been hovering over our heads

Never was there a more Patriotic army, never was there an army possessing a greater love of Countary, or a more ardent desire to render it important Services, neither was there ever an army that had it more completely in their power to have accomplished every object of their Desire than the Present, And must now be sunk into Disgrace for the want of a General at their head—

Never was there officers more Solicitous, or more united than our Patriotic Colonels (and indeed the whole army) have been both of the Regulars and Volunteers, to promote the Public good neither was there ever men of talents as they are so shamefully opposed by an imbesile or Treacherous Commander as they have been—he has frequently

Called the field officers to council in which they have without an exception united in Sentiment, and have in every instance been opposed by Gnl Hull. Would to God Either of our Colonels had the command,¹ if they had, we might yet wipe off[f] the foul stain, that has been brought upon us, We are now reduced to a perilous situation, the British are reinforcing, our Communication[s] with the States are cut off[f], our Provisions growing short, and likely to be Surrounded by hosts of Savages

All appears Dark [at] present, but hope is not lost If energy and decision is united with courage we may yet extricate ourselves,—

With Sentiments of respect I am your obed[i]ent servant

ROBERT LUCAS

Maj^r

Wm Kendall

This Afternoon Colo Miller returned with his detachment after undergoing a fateegue of a Severe engagement, and being kep[t] for Several days without Provisions or Tents Some of them had Indian Scalps hanging to the ramrods of their muskets as they marched in—

[Thursday, August the Thirteenth]

13^t The British have taken possession of the Bank opposite Detroit and have commenced erecting a Battery, opposite the town, Lieuts Anderson and Dallaby² each threw up a Battery on our side one in the old Public Garden and the

¹ The assumption of the command of the army by one of the Colonels was several times discussed, but the decisive step was never taken.—See Adams' *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, p. 326.—EDITOR.

² Lieutenant James Daliba.—EDITOR.

other Just below the town,—The British is Suffered to work at their batterys undisturbed and perhaps will Soon Commence firing upon the Town (Why in the name of God are they not routed before they compleet their Battery) This afternoon Colo Finley with a Detachm[en]t was ordered to prepare to march on a Detachment up the river. They prepared and waited for orders, application was made and the Gul was found asleep he could not be disturbed, therefore the Detachment had to remain in camp till the next day.—he probably had been taking a little Wine with his friends, which threw him into a deeper repose than Usual,— We also this day heard that a party of Indians from Ma[c]kinaw was coming do[w]n and was seen at Lake St Clair

[Friday, August the Fourteenth]

14th The British is Suffered to continue their work unmolested, no kind of preparation is making by o[u]r army about the garrison, Lieuts Dallaby¹ and Anderson, still at work at the[i]r batterys. This afternoon Colo Finley is ordered with a Detachment to the Spring wells, and about Sunset Colo^s McArthur and Cass is ordered with a Detachment from their Regiments of 350 men, to march a back way to the riv[e]r Raisin to escort the provisions that had Some time remained there Colo Finlays Detachment returned to camp

[Saturday, August the Fifteenth]

15th Every thing in confusion as usual, Gnl Hull has a Markee Pitched in the camp South of the Fort of a Singu-

¹ Lieutenant James Daliba.—EDITOR.

la[r] Structure, never before seen in this army—with Sundry Red and Blue Stripes in various ways over the top, (I am apprehensive that it is intended as Som[e] Signal,— as he never before had a markee in camp since the army has been at Detroit) abo[u]t 1 Oclock Two officers ar[r]ived from Sandwich with a flag of truce. While they are consulting with Gnl Hull the British on the opposite shore is busily engaged in removing a house out of the way of the Batterys, and as Soon as they had the house completely removed the officers returned, no attempt was ever made by Gnl Hull to prevent the British compleeting the battery, about 2 o'clock we was informed that the British Summoned the fort to Surrende[r] and had stated that their force was Amply Sufficient to justify such a Demand, and if it did not surrender that the Garrison and Town would be massacred by the Indians, to this demand an immediate refusal was given. The army was astonished at the insol[e]nce of the Briti[s]h knowing our force to be Superior and possessing every advantage over them that we could desire were it properly used— about 4 o'clock 2 vessels hove in Sight below Sandwich point, and their battery played upon the town The fire was returned and continued without interruption and with little effect till Dark the Shells were thrown till 11 o'clock, 2 of which fell within the garrison one of which Wounded a man which was the only injury don[e] in the fort,—Capt Snelling was Sent down to the spring wells to See the movements of the British vessels, he ascertained that they was landing troops and Sent to Gnl Hull for some peaces of Artillery, the Gnl neglected to Send him any, and the British landed the[i]r troops and Some peaces of Artil-

lery unmolested—What could have a greater appearance of treach[er]y in our Gnl. than Suffering the en[e]my to erect their Battery unmolested, and the refusing to grant Capt Snelling Artillery to prevent their landing their troops. The British might easily [have] been prevented from erecting their batterys and if Capt Snelling had been furnished with artillery when requested he would have drove the British Vessels down the river, or Shattered them to peaces, and would intirely have prevented the enemy from landing the[i]r troops. It appears as if Colo^s McArthur and Cass had been sent a way on purpose by Gnl Hull So that he might have a fair oppertunity of Surrendering the fort to the British,—when the British first commenc[e]d firing upon the town The fourth Regim[e]nt and the Ballance of Colo McArthurs Regt that was not with him, was ordered into the fort and placed on the walls, in which position they lay all night.—immediately after the fort was Summon[e]d an express was sent to Colo^s McArth[u]r and Cass informing the[m] thereof and ordering them to return immediatly to Detroit

[Sunday. August the Sixteenth]

16th This morning about daybr[e]ak the British renewed the[i]r fire upon the fourt, and it was returned from our Battery. The roaring of the cannon was tremendous but there was but little injury done, one Shot axidentally killed a man, in the plain, and two by axident being nearly Spent fell within the garrison, one of which killed Ensign Sibly and a Soldier from Mackinaw and the other killed Lieut^t Hanks¹ Doctor Reynolds Surgeon-mate to Colo Cass Rgt

¹ Lieutenant Hancks had been in command of Mackinaw when that fort was captured by the British on July 17, 1812.—EDITOR.

from Zanesville and Wounded Doctor Blood Surgeon mate in the 4th U S Rgt The ball took of[f] intirely one of Doc[t[o]r Reynolds legs, and the other part[l]y of[f] he Died in ab[o]ut a half an hour after, (he was Said to utter the following words about the time he expired) “fight on my brave comrade. I shall nev[e]r see Zanesville I die in peace”—Peace be to his manes—but his comrades was prevented from fighting, by their commander—for the fort was Surrendered about 8 oclock, the Gnl Capitulat[e]d—at the time the Gnl raised a flag of truce on the walls of the garrison, the 4th Regt and a small part [of] Colo McArthur[s] was in the fort, Colo Finleys Rgt was posted on the North of the plain back of the fort. And Major Denny with part of Colo^s McArthurs and Casses Regts along Some Pickets South of the plain, a Part of the Michigan Militia in the upper part of the town and a part in the plain; 2-24 pounders loaded with grate shot and Musket balls placed on a Commanding eminence, b[e]low the town, and indeed our whole force was placed in a situation that the enemies flank and front must have been exposed let them make an attack upon what part they would,—Every man was waiting with anxiety the approach of the enemy and expected a proud day for his Countary, at the Same time Colo^s Cass and McArthur was within a few miles and would have fell upon the enemies rear, (altho[ugh] not known to us at that time) our a[r]my thus placed, I was on the back wall of the garrison viewing the movements of Some Indians that made their appearance in the plain and was catching som[e] horses, and was just de[s]cending the wall with a view of joining colo Finleys flank to meet them when I was Called

to by Some of my acquaintanc[es], and informed that a white flag had been raised upon the wall, I was struck with astonishm[en]t and returned to enquire the caus[e] I was informed that Gnl Hull had ordered our Coulo[ur]s to be struck and that it was opposed by Colo Miller, but that he had Sent out a flag of truce to the British to capitulate, and had ordered the whole of the troops into the garrison to stack their Arms The British at this time was marching up the Detroit river by Colum[n]s of plato[o]ns twelve men in front and when the head of their colum[n] had ar[r]ived within about 5 hundred yards of our line, when a Single Discharge from the 24 pound[e]r must have dispersed them, orders were received from Gnl Hull for all to retreat to the fort and not to fire upon the En[e]my one universal burst of indignation was apparent upon the receipt of these orders, our troops was immediately crowded into the fort, and two British officers rode up to the Gnls marke[e] they remained there a short time and retired,—I made inquiry of the caus[e] and what was done I Soon ascertained that the Gn! had Capitulated and had Surrendered the whole army as Prisoners of War. In entering into this capitulation the Gnl only consulted his own feelings, not an officer was consulted, not one antisipated a Surrender till they Saw the white flag displayed upon the walls.¹ Even the women was indignant at the Shameful degradation of the Americ[an] character, and all felt as they should have felt but he who held in his hands the reins of authority our mornings report from informati[on] was effectiv[e] men fit for duty 1060,

¹ Cf. Report of Colonel Lewis Cass to Secretary of War Eustis, September 10, 1812.—EDITOR.

exclusive of 300 Michigan militia on duty,—The whole force of the enemy both white red and Black was from the best informati[on] we could gain about 1030. They They had 29 platoons twelve in a platoon of men in Uniform, a number of them must have been Canadian militia,—after enquiring into the principles of the capitulation, I ascertained that all the U. S troops was to be Sent to Quebeck, and being apprehensive that Gul Hull would wish to have me Sent with them,¹ I thought it prudent to leave the garrison previous to the British taking possession I therefore placed my Sword and uniform clothes in my brother [(C)Capt J Lucas) Trunk threw my musket and cartridge box against the wall and left the fort, I went down in the town of Detroit and passed in the capacity of a citizen, and paid a particular attention to the Proceedings.² The British first placed a peace of Artillery in front of Gul Hulls Door one at each of our Battery and placed guards to command the defiles round the fort previ[o]us to our troops being marched out of the fort. Their order of march into the fort wa[s] the Regulars and those in Uniform in front, the Militia not in Uniform next a Compa[n]y with handkerch[i]efs round their heads and painted like Indians next and the Indians in the rear Commanded by British officers Dressed and painted like Indians. The Indians was not Suffered to go into the fort. I Stood at the corner of the street and Saw them pass me in this order, with indignant feelings, but when our troops was marched out our Coulors Struck and the British Coulors hoisted in their Stead, my feelings was

¹ See below, Appendix B.—EDITOR.

² See below, Appendix B.—EDITOR.

affected beyond expression, My God who could bear the sight without vowing eternal vengeance[e] against the perpetrators of Such Diabolical acts, and against the Nation that would employ such Detestable Savage allies. To See our Couolors prostitute to See and hear the firing from our own battery and the huzzaws of the British troops the yells of the Savages and the Discharge of small arms, as Signals of joy over our disgrace was scenes too horrid to meditate upon with any other view than to Seek revenge—The Indians after the British had got peaceable possession of the fort, gave themselves up to plunder they took and bore away at will, horses and Such other property as fell in their way, they robbed and plund[e]red the the hous[e] of Mr Atwater the Acting Governor and Capt Knag[g]s the Ind[i]an interpreter of every thing they could find, (the Capitulation to the contrary notwithstanding) and many other atrocious acts,—I Saw Major Witherall of the Detroit Volunteers Brake his Sword and throw it away and Sev[e]ral Soldiers broke their muskets rather than Surrender them to the British—Soon after the British had taken the fort, and made the arrangements by placing g[u]ards at various places in the town I saw Gnl Hull walking linked arms, with a British officer, from the fort to his own hous[e], Posses[s]-ing a more pleasing countenanc[e] than I had ever Seen him, and appeared to be very pleasingly engaged in conversation with him—While in town I happened in company with a British officer who was exulting at their conquest. I could not refrain from telling him that the conquest he was boasting of they had obtain[e]d through treachery, and that in my opinion they would not maintain it long, as we

could have an army of 10,000 men there in a few months, he appeared to make light of my observations—after he retired I was advised by an acquaintan[ce] not to speak my mind so free as the British was Such a haughty people and I was ther[e] in their power, it might operate against me. I had previously formed a determination not to go with them as a prisoner of war—altho[ugh] I had heard it stated that the 4th Rgt and Gnl Lucas was to be Sent on to Quebeck, I knew they did not know my person, and being informed by Major Denny that his Detachment was to be immediately Sent on board a vessel, I thought it desirable to go aboard lest Some of the inhabitants of Detroit Should betray me. I communicated my intention to Some of my confidential friends in or[der] that I might not be betrayed about 3 oclock the Detachm[en]t went aboard the Maria of Prisque isle—I requested Ensign Baird to have Capt J Lucas Tru[n]k taken aboard, he being absent with Colo McArthur, which he had done I made Some arrang[e]ments in town and went to the w[h]arf, with them. The British G[ua]rd that was at the vessel asked me if I was going aboard I told them I was, he asked me if I was going to stay aboard I answered him also that I was, he then Suffered me to pass aboard without asking any further questions,—I went aboard and requested the boys aboard not to call me by any title and told them my reason for making Such request. Soon after I went aboard the vessel dropped down the riv[er] about a mile and lay too all night Some time that Evening Colo^s McArthur and Cass returned with their Detachments, and was Surrendered as prisoners¹

¹ See below, Appendix B.—EDITOR.

[Monday, August the Seventeenth]

17 this morning the British were firing of[f] our arms up at the w[h]arf—we Surrendered 2500 stand of small arms besides what was in the magazin[e], about 60 peaces of Cannon of Various Sizes 2 Howitzer[s] 40 Barrels of Powd[er] 100,000 Cartridges made up 400 rounds [of] cartidges for 24 po[un]d[er]s and a great quantity of Balls Shells, and Cartridges for the Smaller Cannon, the particular quantity not precisely known to me we lay to all this day, Colo McArthur Came aboard and returned, on Shore he was engaged in making out the rolls of his regiment this evening Capt Keys and a party of Colo McArth[ur]'s Rgt passed us in open boats they had Some provision with them but left none of it with us,—Several British offic[e]rs wa[s] aboard this day—and I was informed that there had been Considerable enquiry made for me at Detroit after I had left there, by the British offic[e]rs, but could not find where I was, Capt J Lucas and a number that was out with Colo McArthur came aboard The vessel was loaded with furs, and the Strength of the Skins and the Bilge water was enough to Suffocate us to Death

[Tuesday, August the Eighteenth]

18 Colo McArthur McDonald Puthuff Majors Denny and Trimble came aboard we raised anchor and Drop[p]ed down the riv[er], toward Maldon but the wind being against us we did not get down till night here we drew Some provisions for the first [time] after the fort had been Surrendered, having been three days without eating any thing I felt considerab[ly] hungary,— The Commandant at Maldon came aboard, but I kep[t] tolerably close below

while we was laying at Maldon for fear I Should be betrayed, as I had no great inclination to go with Such Detestable enemies, as the British to Quebeck as a prisoner of war

[Wednesday, August the Nineteenth]

19^t This morning we Saw a great number of Indians crossing the river towards Brownstown. I am fearfull that they are gone in pursu[i]t of Capt Brush, and if they overtake him his party must become a Sacrafice as the[i]r number is So far Superior to his,—(I hope he may make his escape to Ohio with his provisions before they overtake him) we lay this day at Maldon, our officers were frequently ashore Considerable inquiry was here made where I was, but no one informed them

[Thursday, August the Twentieth]

20th we still lay at Maldon Capt Ruff is on Shore making Some arrangem[en]ts about his vessel, Colo McArth[u]r Sent for him to come aboard he Came and hoisted Sail for Cleveland in the State of Ohio

[Friday, August the Twenty-first]

21^t This morning we landed at the Island at Put in bay and Cooked Some provisions we th[e]re ascertained that th[e]re was 230 men aboard, not more than half of them could ever lay down at a time. There was a British officer and a g[ua]rd of men with us, we again went aboard and Set Sail—this night Capt. ruff had his boat prepared, on Deck to get in in case th[e]re should be a storm he was apprehensive the vessel would upset in case there Should arise a gale of wind, as the great part of the men was obliged to remain on deck.

[Saturday, August the Twenty-second]

22nd The weather was fine but no wind, we made but poor headway and our provisions growing Scanty

[Sunday, August the Twenty-third]

23rd The weathe[r] as yesterday in the evening we came near land at the mouth of Black Riv[e]r,¹ Colo McArthur and a number of his men was Set a Shore, 26 or 27 miles from cleaveland, here I took my Sword out of the trunk and went a Shore, I never had from the time of the Surrender of Detroit felt intirely independent untill I got my feet on land at the mouth of Black Riv[e]r, I lay down by a fire and rested comfortab[ly] this night—

[Monday, August the Twenty-fourth]

24, Those that had landed Started a foot to Cleveland, I had no provision, nor nothing to buy with, I traveled on and found the inhabitants extrem[e]ly hospitable, I ar[r]ived at Cleveland in the evening, where I found my comrad[e]s that had went on in the vessle, we lodged at cleaveland that night

[Tuesday, August the Twenty-fifth, to Thursday, August the Twenty-seventh]

25th This day Colo Cass and Colo Huntington (the former Governor of Ohio) Started to the City of Washington with dispa[t]ches to [the] governm[en]t rendering an account of our Disasterous Campaign, Colo McArthur Drew provisions for the troops to last them to Canton and allowed each Captain to march his Company as he Saw proper. I here got a knapsack, and fil[led] it with my uniform cloth[e]s hat, my Journal, and Such other articles as I did

¹ A river emptying into Lake Erie in what is now Lorain County, Ohio.—
EDITOR.

not wish to leave and started on a foot with my Brother Capt J Lucas, he being onwell we did not ar[r]ive at Canton till the evening of the 27th where he was treated with great hospitality by the Citizens of Canton and also by the inhabitants on the road from cleaveland to that place

[Friday, August the Twenty-eighth]

28, Colo McArthur Made out a Provision return for his regiment and Drew for them money in Lieu of provision, to bare their expences hom[e], here every man was allowed the liberty of returning to his home [by] Such rout[e] as he thought proper. Myself Capt J Lucas and 11 other men of Capt Lucas & Capt Rupes Companies Started to Georgetown¹ for the purpose of des[c]ending the Ohio by wate[r] to our homes— In the afternoon I was overtaken by Lieut Larwell of the U. S Artillery and a Mr Mason who furnished me with a horse, I left my Compa[n]y and went on to George [town] to provide crafts, I proceeded on in company with Mr Larwell and Mason, to an old gentlem[an's] by the name of Griswould where we Lodged all night,

[Saturday, August the Twenty-ninth]

29 I continued on with my q[ue]st to new Lisbon² and Breakfasted here I was invited by Colo Kinny to attend with Some gentlemen from Virginia and Pennsylvania that had come on as a Committee of arrangement, to acquire information relativ[e] to the Surrender of Gnl Hulls Army and the Situation of our frontier. I attended and gave them Such informat[i]o[n] as I was possessed of relative to the

¹ A town on the south bank of the Ohio river in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, a few miles east of the Ohio State line.—EDITOR.

² Lisbon, the county seat of Columbiana County, Ohio.—EDITOR.

Disasterous Campaign. I was at this place treated with great attention and politeness and furnished with an elegant horse to ride to Georgetown I then proceeded on to Georgetown in company with a young Gentleman by the name of Bell, and ar[r]ived at Georgetown in the evening I was introduced by Mr Bell to his uncle a Mr Christmass Merchant at Georgetown whose Polite attention and hospitality had too deep an impression upon my mind ever to be forgotten. Altho[ugh] we had been meeting troops every day marching towards the frontier Since we left cleaveland, I met this afternoon a Battallion of troops from Washington County Pennsylv[ania] whose patriotic appearanc[e] exceeded any I had Seen on this march. I lodged this night with M^r Christmass

[Sunday, August the Thirtieth]

30th About 12 Oclock Capt J Lucas and the party with him ar[r]ived, we was all invited to dine with M^r Christmass and M^r Bevers, who assisted us in procuring Crafts we purchased a Sciff and in the evening Started down the Ohio and de[s]cended about two miles we found that our Sciff would not carry us all, and purchased a second one, and divided our Compa[n]y

[Monday, August the Thirty-first, to Friday, September the Fourth]

31 We Started down the Ohio, and rowed day and night by turns till we landed at Portsmouth which was on friday the 4th of Septemb[e]r about 10 ocloek A. M. being not quite four days and a half from Georgetown to Portsmo[n]th we found our friends general[l]y well except M^{rs} Lucas who had been in a bad state of health for a long time,—I was happy to find on my return that the Disasters at Detroit

had kindeled an unextinguishable flame of Patriotism in the breasts of my neighbors, I do hope that the Disasterous Surrender of Detroit may terminate in Public good. It has kindeled an unexampeled flame of Patriotism in the western countary, and it may perhaps be a usefull Caution to our Governm[en]t who they entrust with th[e] Command of their armies—for my part I am determined if life is spared, nev[er] to desert till I have Satisfaction, for the insults giv[e]n us by ou[r] Detestable Enemy the British and the[i]r savage allies

Robert Lucas

Portsmouth Ohio 4th Sept[embe]r 1812 Safe ar[r]ived &c

APPENDIX A

[The following is from the original letter which was found among the Lucas letters and papers.—EDITOR.]

Dayton May 9th
1812

Capⁿ Rupe —

Sir — =

You will march your Detachment to Greenville for the protection of the frontier. —You will advise the Inhabitants not to quit their Farms—but to associate & build Block Houses—as I have ordered Lieut. McCormick with a Party of Rangers to Greenville—to range in that neighborhood—they will be protected— You are not to molest any friendly Indians—but assure them of the Friendship of the United States. Indians committing Hostilities—you will repel take destroy—unless Indians commit Hostilities, you will return on Wednesday next.

Gen. Lucas will accompany you—to whose advice I recommend your attention

R J MEIGS,
Gov— Ohio

APPENDIX B

[The following is from a copy of the letter, transcribed and signed in the handwriting of Robert Lucas and found in the collection of Lucas letters and papers.—EDITOR.]

Portsmouth Ohio 10th October 1812

Sir

having escaped the general wreck of the Northwestern army, and ar[r]ived at my usual place of residence, I Conceive it my duty to make a Candid Statement to you of the Causes which attached me to that army and the means by which I made my escape after it Surrendered on the 16th of August last. Sir on the 18^t [?] of April last (7 [?] days after I had accepted the appointment of Capt in the U S Infantry and previous to my receiving any orders from my Superior officers in the U. S Army,) I Received Orders from the Executive of this State, through Major General McArth[u]r, to transmit without dilay from my Brigade my quota of 1200 militia required from this State to march immediately to Detroit. The emmergency of the call made it necessary for me to attend to my official duties as a Brigadier Genl in the Militia and I exerted my influenc[e] to furnish the quota required of Volunteers agreeably to the act of Congress of the 6th of February 1812 and succeeded, So that on the 6th of May I had 4 Compani[e]s of Volunteers engaged under the provisions of the aforesaid act and one compa[n]y of riflemen engaged for Six month[s], rendezvous at Dayton from my Brigade, which I had organized agreeably to the laws of this Act [?] in one Battallion under the command of Major James Denny, having thus discharged my official duties as a Brigadier Genl and made my return to the Major Gn^l of Division, I was requested by his Excellency Governor Meigs, on the 9th of May to take a Company of men and repair to greenvill[e], to ascertain the movements and disposition of the Indians about that place, (they having previously commit[t]ed some depredations) I accordi[n]gly went, complied with my instructions returned and made report to his excellency, at which time his execllency informed me that it was necessary to Send an express through to

detroit, previous to the army marching and requested me to undertake the journey, to which request I readily Consented, on Condition that he would obtain permission from the Departm[en]t of war (as I had previously accepted of an appointm[en]t in the U S Army I thought it nee[ce]ssary that permission should be obtained previous to my leavi[n]g the State) to which he replied that he could not dispens[e] with my service[s] and that he would write to the Department of war, on the Subject which I presume he did and assured me that I Should neither loos rank nor emolument by attending to his request, flat[t]ered with these assurances I undertook the journey, and on the 25th of May in Compa[n]y with W^m Den[u]y of the volunteers, I started from Day[ton] for Detroit, with Directions from Gov Me[i]gs, and Gnl Hull, to pass by the way of Dellaw[are] Upper and Lower Sanduskys, then by the Rapids of the Miami of the lake, the river Raisin, and through Brownstown to Detroit, I went as Direct[ed] and on the 3rd of June ar[r]ived to Detroit, Descharg[ing] my duty agreeable to the instructions, and on the 21 of June returned met the army in the wilderness, on the head waters of Miami, between forts M'Arth[u]r and fort Finley, and reported to the Gnl. I returned with the army to detroit, and crossed with it to Canada,—while in Canada on the 22nd of July I received orders from Colo Miller of Ohio to repair to Chillicothe for the purpose of receiving mon[ey] [?] and instructions to command the recruiting service (they being the first orders I had received on that Subject) immediately on the receipt of the orders I prepared to return to the Stat[e] of Ohio, and on informing Gnl Hull thereof, he requested to See the orders I shew him, and after perusing them he Said that he could not spare me from the army, and that he would take all the responsibility upon himself in ordering me to remain, untill further orders, and that he would account to Colo Miller, and the Department of war for my not returning to the State of Ohio. I considered myself bound to obey Gnl Hulls orders, and remained with his army, untill it was Disgracefully (*and perhaps treacherously*) surrendered to the British forces at Detroit where I witnessed a Scene more easily felt

than Described, where I Saw a brave army of patriots possessing every apparant advantage over their en[e]my and thursting for Liberty to pluck the laurels from the brows, of their detestable enimies; Surrendered by their Gnl, (*contrary to the remotest immagination*) to an inferior force of an inferior Quality, without their being allowed the liberty of firing a gun in their own Defense—I Cannot meditate on the Surrender of our Army without feeli[n]g a glow of indignation, therefor[e] I will leave the Subject and proceed to inform you how I made my escape after the Surrender—

After the Capitulation was Signed and their troops ordered into the garrison to Stack their arms, and previous to the british taking possession of the garrison I learnt from the Capitulation the army was Surrendered as prisone[r]s of war and was given to understand that the United States troops was destined for Quebeck. Altho[ugh] I had not been regularly attached to the army I was apprehensiv[e] that Gnl Hull would return me as an off[i]cer in the U. S. Army, and hearing it mentioned by some, that the 4th U. S Regt and (Gnl Lucas) they making use of my name as Such) was destined for Quebeck,—I thought it advisable to mak[e] my escape,—I th[e]re-fore left the garrison and went into the town previous to the british forces marching in, the British not knowing my person, and my being equip[p]ed in an inferior dress, I Saw them march by me into the garrison, I remained in town as a Citizen paying particular attention to the proceedings untill about 3 oclock P. M. when a Detachment of Volunteers under the Comm[an]d of Major James Denny was ordered a board of a vessel, I fell in with them, and went a board in the Capacity of a Volunteer, and made my escape as Such, notwithst[an]ding the great inquiry made for me by the British officers after I had went aboard—

Now Sir it is a Doubt with Som[e] whether I Can com[e] within the powers [?] of the capitulati[o]n, as I never was regularly attached to the army, nor my name ever known on reecord in the army as an officer, neither was I ever in their possession of the British as Such—having enrolled myself as a volunteer in the first instance to encour-

[a]ge others, my nam[e] still continued on the roll as such in Capt John Lucass Compa[n]y, a Copy of which the British has in possession, it being the only way they can possibly have my nam[e], without it has been returned by Gnl Hull, otherwise,—from these circumstances I Can hardly Consider myself a prisoner of war,—and have sin[ce] my retu[rn] received instruction from Colo Miller to Comman[d] the recruiting Servi[ce] at this place which instruction I am attending to at present,—

Sir if I have erred in any of the abov[e] proceeding[s] I hope you will do me the just[ic]e to Considered it an error of the mind, and not of intent[i]o[n], intirely grown out of an ardent zeal for the interest of my countary— Whether I am entitled to merit or demerit, either as an officer or a soldier for my conduct during the Said Campaign I leave for my associate[s] in arms to determin[e] and recommend you particularly to the account Gnl McArth[u]r may give you of the mauner in which I was employed and how I discharged my duty in my Sev[er]al Stations I was employed in, as he is well knowing the greater part of my conduct during the Said Campaign—

Sir, will you be So good as to drop me a line, to inform me whether you approve or disapprove of my Conduct, also whether you Consider me under the restricti[o]n of a prisoner of war, or not,

I have the honor to be with high Consideration your

Very obent Sert

Honl Wm EUSTIS

ROBERT LUCAS Capt

Secret[ar]y of the Departm[en]t

U. S. Infantry

APPENDIX C

[The following is from a copy of the original, transcribed and signed in the handwriting of Robert Lucas and found in the collection of Lucas letters and papers.—EDITOR.]

Portsmouth Ohio November 4th 1812

Mr FOSTER

Sir

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ult and hasten with pleasure to give you Such information, as I am possessed of, relative to the disasterous campaign under Gnl Hull.

I extremely regret that it is not in my power to furnish you with a Correct Copy of the Original Speeches deliver[ed] to the different Nations of the Indians while on express to Detroit as the copy I reserved was handed to a gentleman at Detroit who nev[er] ret[n]rn[ed] it But Sir, I will give you as correct information of all transactions during my tour to Detroit as I am possessed of—

On the 25th of May 1812, I waited on Gnl Hull at Dayton to receive Such instructions as he thought proper to communicate to me, previous to my departure to Detroit, at which time he delivered me a Packet, addressed to Mr Varnum, U. S. factor at Lower Sandusky one Directed to Rueben Atwater Acting Governor at Detroit, and a letter Directed to Colo Anderson at the river Raisin, also a letter Directed to the Acting Governor at Detroit, also Sundry Copies of an address to the Several nations of Indians through which I was to pass,—The Gn! then informed me that he thought the journey I was about to undertake a hazardous one, and my Safe ar[r]ival of great importance, he then delivered to me Such verbal instructions as he thought necessary for me to attend to, stating, that written instructions was unnecessary and might opperate as an impediment to the expedition in case They Should be intercepted.—

I was instructed to pass by the town of Dellaw[ar]e by the Upper and Lower Sandusky^s by the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake, by the settlement on the River Raisin to Detroit, thence to return and meet the army, and to advise the inhabitants on the

frontiers, not to quit their homes, but in case of any hostile appearance of the Indians to assemble and build block houses, and if attacked, to defend themselves to the last extremity; untill the army ar[r]ived, or untill men Should be Sent to their releaf. I was also instructed to request the inhabitants at the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake, those at the river Raisin, and at detroit to assist in opening a Road from Detroit to meet the army,—and was Authorized to State to the inhabitant[s] at Lower Sandusky that a Detachment of men would be immediately Sent on to that place, to erect a Block hous[e] and g[n]ard the Public Store—I was also requested by Gnl Hull to call at the different Indian villages as I passed through and to read and have interpreted to them his address —(which was in substance as follows.

It was Dated Head quarters on the Northern frontier Dayton May 23rd 1812—

Addressed to the chiefs Sachems and warriors of the Wiandots Dellawar[e]s Miamis Ottawas Pottawattomi[e]s Chippawas and Such of the Shawances as reside in the State of Ohio or Territory of Michigan—(addressing them in the usual stile of addressing Indians) stating that he long had lived amongst [them], that he long had smoked the pipe of peac[e] and friendship with them, that their ears had been open to his counce[ll] and their conduct had proven that they respected his advice. He informed them that their Great father that presided at the great counce[ll] fire of the nation had deemed it necessary to send a num[e]rous army to the northern frontier, that in one hand he carried the olive branch of Peace, and in the other the Sword, and that those of them that accepted the one Should enjoy protection peace and hap[p]iness, and those that prefer[r]ed the other Should experience all the punishm[e]nt his powerfull hand could inflict, and to his Command the President had entrusted the army with authority to adopt such measures with the ch[i]efs of the[i]r Several nations as in his opinion might best Secure the peace and Safety of the inhabitants on the frontiers—

He then informed them that the present was a most important crisis, That everything dear to them was then at stake, and if any considerations Should induce their nations to commit acts of hostility, they would forfeit all their lands all their annuities, and that they would forfeit indeed their very existence amongst; us and on the other hand that those of them who was disposed to adhere to the existing treaties and live in peace and friendship with their white brethren, Should enjoy their lands in peace Should receive their annuities and enjoy all the blessings a bountifull country could bestow, and concluded with assuring them of the sinserere desire of the white people ever to live in peace and friendship with the Red Brethren—& C.

After Receiving the above instructions I left the army on the evening of the 25th of May 1812 in company with William Denby, and arrived at Delaware on the 27th we there furnished ourselves with provisions, and proceeded on to Sandusky, we arrived at Negro Town upper Sandusky on the morning of the 29th and had all the chiefs of the Wyandots that was about home called together, and read and explained Genl Hulls address to them, To which I added that there would be a party of men through their village in a short time on their way to Lower Sandusky to guard the public Stores, and advised them not to be alarmed but to attend to their ordinary callings, and they would be protected by the white people, So long as they remained peaceable, assuring them that it was not the disposition of our government ever to go to war with any nation of People that did not first intrude upon us.

They after consulting for a short time answered that they was thankfull to me for the trouble I had taken to inform them of the the intention of their father (Genl Hull,) and assured me that it was their full determination to strictly adhere to the treaty of Greenville. They also stated that they had been much alarmed at the movements of the white people, in Collecting an army on their borders, also that they was at a loss to know, what was the cause of the white people leaving their homes on the frontier and assemb-

ling together to build block houses. They also enquired with apparent anxiety when the men would be through that place on their way to lower Sandusky, alledging as the caus[e] of their inquiry, that they wished to know, when they would be along So that their Squaws and children might not be alarmed. I observed in answe[r] to which that the white people on the frontier had been alarmed in consequence of Some late murders, having been committed near Lower Sandusky, by Some Indians; and that the men that was Shortly expected on to lower Sandusky g[u]arding the public Store was going on in consequence of those murders, for the purpose to protect the settelment [and] inhabita[n]ts there from further depredation, and that I could not inform them the particular time, but that it would be in the course of a week or two—They appeared all well Satisfied, and We took our leave of them, and proceeded on to Lower Sandusky and ar[r]ived at Mr Varnums in the evening of the Same day and deliv[e]red my dispa[t]ches to him, in which was inclosed a copy of the address as above Stated—On the 30th Mr Varnum Called the Wiandots, and Munsies to counsell (The Ottoways having previously moved away) he read and had interpreted the same ad[d]ress as above stated. The Wyandots appeared pleased and expressed a Similar Sentiment, to that of the[i]r nati[o]n at Upper Sandusky. (the Munsies retired without giving any Answer, and on the Same evening moved off[f] towards Maldon— The Indians have appeared to be planting no corn, and the Wyandots talked of moving to Upper Sandusky; to be with their principal chief—The Ottoways had moved off[f] for Some time and encamped on the River Huron opposite Maldon, The Settelm[e]nts at Lower Sandusky appeared to be almost intirely Deserted, both by the white People and Indians,, 31—We proceeded on to the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake, through a tremendous Swamp, we ar[r]ived in the evening, at the Settelm[e]nt, and found a party of the militia on duty under the Command of Lut Bond.: This place was in a Defenceless Situation, and intirely exposed to the mercy of the Savages,—on the 1st June we proceeded on to the riv[e]r Raison. I delivered the letter I was

entrusted with to Colo Anderson, I informed him of the Situat[i]o[n] and Strength of the army, and the request of Gnl. Hull that they should assist in opening a road, to meet the army, (at this place there was a Company of militia on duty under the command of Captain Lecroix, They was in a Bad State of defence and Considerably alarmed 2nd I proceeded on to Brownstown but for want of an interpreter I could not explain Gnl Hulls address to the Indians at that place. I proceeded on to Maguaga, and stop[p]ed at the house of George Blue-Jacket son to the old chief of that name, he being an english Scholar I Shew him Gnl Hulls address, he appeared to be pleased with the contents and treated me with Considerable friendship. I then proceeded on to Detroit and ar[r]ived about 5 oelock P. M. I delivered my dispatches to Mr Atwater the acting Governor, and was Treated with a great deal of hospitality by him, and all the officers in the U. S. army that was ther[e] at detroit. I remained at Detroit 14 days during which time I attended Several counCELLS with different Nations of the Indians. The Acting Governor on the receipt of Gnl Hulls letter, Sent for the different nations near that place to attend the counCELL. They all readily attended but the Ottawas, and Munneces tho[ugh] on a second invitation the Ottawas attended, he read and explained Gnl. Hulls address to them Some of the Chippawas, Ottawas and Pottowattom[ie]s appeared to be Satisfied,—an ottowa chief in behalf of those three nations, (of the name of Tontoggas— or Dog) Stated in his Speech that their fathers at the treaty of Greenville had agreed to bury the hatchet that they had Drove it into the ground so deep that it was never to rise up again, and at the Same treaty they had agreed, to bind their arms together by a Silver chain of friendship that was never to be broke, and he then declared in behalf of the Chippawa[s] Ottawa[s] and Pottowattom[ie]s that that chain Should never be broken even if a tree should fall across it,— he then produced a speech that had been deliv[e]red to him by Mr Jefferson at the City of Washington,—stating that he had engaged with the[i]r great father ever to remain in peace and friendship with him—he then apologised for their leavi[n]g their towns

and neglecting to plant corn, alleging that they came to the river Huron, to be nigh their father So that they could be Supplied with Such things as they wanted, stating that they would return to their town again in the fall—There was a Chippawa chief by the name (Moccons[?] or little Bare) attended in great stile, three different days to deliver a speech in behalf of his nation (as he said) he was waited on each day by the Acting Governor, But he finally retired without Saying anything, or giving any expla[nation] of his conduct—

Walk in-the water, Adam Brown and Several other chiefs of the Wiandots from Brownstown and Maguawga, also attended a counsell Walk in-the water produced a writ[t]en speech, in which he charged the americans of improper enterferences, in attempting to prevent, their young men from crossing to Maldon, and with the Indians the last fall on the Wabash, stating that the trouble the white people had met with on the wabash they had brought upon themselves, that it was the fault of the white people and not the Indians and with respect to crossing Detroit River—he Stated that they was their own masters and would go where they pleased, independent of the americans,—and many other expressions of a similar nature.

Mr Atwat[e]r then asked him if his speech contained the sentiments of his nation generally about Brownstown and maguawga, he Walk in-the water answered that it did, he then stated to him the inconsistency of his conduct that he had came to him in the spring and asked liberty for two of his young men to go to a friendly counsell on the wawbash and requ[e]sted Some assistance, that he had granted the liberty & wrote to the agent at fort Wayne to furnish them with a cano[e]. And that when they ar[r]ived at Fort Wayne the agent ascertained that they had been send with a message from the British ag[e]nt (Colo Elliot) to the Indians on the Wabash, and that in consequen[ce] of which, the agent at Fort Wayne had refused to furnish them with a cano[e] and had wrote to him on the subject (which letter he read) That he had promised to inform him, when the young men returned, and the result of the[i]r counsell. And that

they had returned, and had gone to the British at Maldon. This kind of conduct said Mr Atwater is unsufferable We cannot be deceived. If you respect your British fathe[r] Elliot better than me, why do you not go to him, you come to me and profess to be my friend, you th[e]n go to the British and profess to be their friends, you Cannot be both our friends,—If the Americans and British Differ, what is that to you; you have nothing to do with our quarrels, you live among us, and if you were disposed to live in peace with us, you would not interfere in our disputes, but attend to your own business, to plant your corn and take care of your women and children &c

Wa[l]k-in the water appeared Considerably affected at the reproof of Mr Atwater—And addressed him as follows, Father altho[ugh] you have reproved me for what I have Said, there is one thing that I will inform you, off—that is—I have been informed that Several of the Shawanees, that live on the Miami and Scioto, have engaged as Spies for the army that is Coming on here, and that when I heard it I Sent Several of my young men on to keep before them—The Councell then broke up without his giving any Explanation of his conduct apparently not well Satisfied —

For what purpose their young men was Sent to keep before our Spies, I could then only infer one of two things, that was I Supposed them either Sent, to waylay our Spi[e]s for the purpose of cut[t]ing them off[f], or to have frequent communication with them, to ascertain the Situation of our army, (Time has d[i]s[s]olved the mistery, at the time of this Councell, at Detroit there was no indians had joined our army as Spies. It appears obvious that there was an agreement between the British and those Indians and that they had been sent by the British British to Spi[e] for our army, and that their yo[u]ng [men] that Walk in the water had Sent to keep before them was Sent for the purpose, of receiving from these spies Such information, relative to the army as they wished. This opinion is proven by two Circumstances, one is that Several of thos[e] Indians that Spied for our Army joined the British as Soon as they ar[r]ived at Detroit,

the other is that I was informed about the time I left detroit to meet the army,—by a frenchman (who Said he had got his information from an Indian) Where our army was a few days before, and Described the particular order of march, which on meeting the army I found to be correct—

on the 12th Jun[e] Previo[us] to my leav[ing] detro[it] I rec[eiv]e[d] by Capt Welch of Dellawa[re] a lett[er] from Gnl Hull of which the following is an exact Copy

Stanton 4th Jun[e] 1812

Sir

Sin[ce] you left this I have changed the rout[e]—The army will proceed by Urbanna and strike the Miami at the foot of the rapid[s]

It will therefore be improp[er] for you to return by the Auglaize as you will not meet the army on that rout[e]

I am very respectfully

Your most obed[i]ent

servant

GENERAL LUCAS

signed— — WM HULL

on the 14th of June in compa[n]y with Capt Welch and two gentlemen from Detroit I des[ce]nded the Detroit Riv[er], to within a short distance of fort Mald[en] So that with a glass I viewed the Situation of the garrison, at this tim[e] there was but 100 British troops in the garrison, but while I was in sigh[t] the queen Sharlet ar[r]ived with Gnl Brock aboard and a reinforcement of 100 troops. The garrison was greatly out of Repa[i]r the back and lowe[r][?] walls appeared to be partly down;—my intenti[on] was to land and take a particular view of the garrison but was advised not, by the gentlem[en] with me, as the British had been inform[e]d of my being at detroit,—they apprehended that I would be Suspected if I landed,—I returned on the Same evening to detroit,—

While at Detroit I had made particular inquiry into the the local situation of the Territory of Michigan, and upper Canada, I found the inhabitants of Michigan to be principally a set of ignorant French Canadians, attached to no particular Political principal, apparently

more of the Disposition of Indians than white people, And that there was a Considerable Spirit of disaffection among them, That two of their capt[ai]n[s] had been arrested and Broke [?] for advising the men to cross to Canada and not to Suffer themselves to be Drafted, and that there had been a considerable mut[i]ny among them that had been called out, upon the whole I found that no certain calculation could be made upon the militia of Michigan with respect to defenc[e].—I Saw that Detroit lay intirely at the mercy of the British and Indians, in case they should unite against it and I had every reason to bel[i]eve from the general movements of the indians in that quarter (notwithstanding their professed friendship) that they was intirely under the influence of the British, and was only waiting their signal to strike the Blow unless they Should be restrained by fear, at the news of our approaching army. I was fearfull that in the event of a Declaration of war previous to the ar[r]ival of our army at detroit which I thought probable that that post would be immediately attacked by the British and Indians. I therefore on the 15th proposed to the Acting Governor, and the off[i]cers at Detroit, to Invite the principal chiefs of the Several nations of Indians, about that place, to accompany me to the army, I thought if I could get them with me that it might answer the good purpose first that it would Secure Detroit from an attack by the Indians while their ch[i]efs were absent, Second that it would take the chiefs out of the way of British influence (and it was generally expected that the army would be attacked before it ar[r]ived at Detroit, and Considering its Safe ar[r]ival of importanc[e], I thought in the third plac[e] that the chiefs being with the army, would Considerably lessen the force of our en[e]my in case we Should be attacked, as those of their nation would not be likely to attack an army, while their chiefs was in their power—

In this proposition I was joined by a numb[er] and Mr Knaggs the interpreter, gave it as his opinion that the ch[i]efs could be easily influenced to accompany me, in case he would go with them. Mr Atwater the acting gov promised to give me an answer on

the Subject, the next day, I accordingly waited on him on the 16th, he then informed me that he was convinced of the utility of my proposition but that, it was out of his power at that time to send the chiefs with me to the army, as they could not go without the interpreter (Mr Knaggs) accompanying them, and under the th[e]n existing circumstances, he could not be spared from Detroit. I readily acquiesc[ed], took my leave of him and proceeded on to meet the ar[m]y,—as I crossed the river Huron I saw 15 cano[e]s loaded with Ottawa indians in compa[n]y with their chief (Tontoggas—or Dog) on their way to Maldon (this was the chief that had at a previ[ous] council professed Such friendship)—I ar[r]ived at the river Raisin on the evening of the 16th found the Situation of the place much as I had left it on my way to Detroit, but Considerable exertion using, in opening a road for the ar[m]y, on the morning of the 18th in compa[n]y with Mr Denny Capt Welch and Mr Tho[s] Knaggs (Brother to the interpreter at Detroit) I started to meet the army—(at this time I was informed by Mr Godfray who passed Malden the day before that Genl Brock had returned down the lake on the 16th.) and met on our way between the River Raisin and the foot of the rapids a numb[er] of Indians moving from Solomons Town on Stony creek and Round heads town on Scioto with about 40 Horses loaded with packs Squaws and children, The men tell us that they was a moving to Detroit, (They settled at Brownsto[w]n and afterwards crossed to Maldon) we ar[r]ived in the afternoon at the foot of the rapids,—The company of men that was doing duty as I passed out had been dismissed by Some means, the particular caus[e] of which I was not informed—we was here informed that there was a war party of Pot-towattom[ie]s out in the quarter we was a going—and requested to be on our g[ar]d here we laid in provisi[on] to last us through the wilderness, and proceeded on the next morning 19th and struck our course through the black Swamps, and ar[r]ived at Round heads town on the Scioto in the afternoon of the 21st we we found the town intirely evacuated, and the houses locked up, we proceeded on the Same evening to Solomons town on Stony creek where we struck

the road the army had passed on, (from the foot of the rapids to Solomons Town we Saw nobody but was surrounded one night by Indians, we heard them yell in the woods, and Saw their trail next morning, we used precaut[i]o[n] and left our fires in the night, which they proba[b]ly was apprised of, and moved off[f] without interrupting us)—the 22nd we overtook the army, I reported to the Genl deliver[e]d Such dispa[t]ches as I was entrust[e]d with, and made a report, to him of all the proceedings during my absence, stated my opinion relative to disposition of the Indians and particular[ly] the speech of Walk in the water the Wiandot ch[i]ef at Maguawga to which he replied, That he could not think it possible, that Walk in the water was such a particuar friend of his, That he was Such an enli[gh]tened Indian, and So much interested in our caus[e] that he could not think it possible that he would be opposed to us,—I made Sev[e]ral Similar Statements which I found he paid little attention to, Tho[ugh] he very politely thanked me for my attention while absent, and expressed his intire approbation of my conduct, and expressed a wish that I should return with the army, and invited me to become a member of his family,—being much fateegued I requested liberty to retire to Colo M'Arth[u]rs Rgt for a few days, during which time I observed that the Gnl was quite imbecile and that he paid more attention to parade than action, which did not correspond with my inclination, I therefore declined accepting the Gnl's offer to becom[e] a member of his family, and attached myself to the Spies, with whom I continued untill the army was Surrend[e]red at Detroit,—

Sir, these are the particulars of my expedition as express to detroit, if they will be of any Service to you, toward completing a narrative of the Disasterous campaign under Gnl Hull you are welcome to make Such use of them as you may see proper, I also Send you, my dayly journal of the campaign, if it will be of any service to you, you can take such extracts therefrom as you may be deemed necessary—

With respect I am your

very Humble Servant

MR JAMES FOSTER—

ROBERT LUCAS

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Volume XVII. The French Regime in Wisconsin—II, 1727–1748. Madison: Published by the Society. 1906. Pages xix, 544. Portraits.

This is the second volume issued by the Society that is devoted to the documentary history of the French regime in Wisconsin. The first volume covered the period from 1634 to 1727 and was issued as volume XVI of the *Collections*.

This volume contains the inner history of the French scheme of colonial commercialism in its working form as it existed in the then known northwestern country. During this time the French ruled absolutely the Wisconsin area and by means of barter exerted their influence over the Aborigines of the adjoining country to the south and west. The missionary spirit now played a minor part and in its place a spirit of greed ran wild. The cry was for furs to supply the demands of commerce caused by the needs and caprices of a civilized world. The scheme of French government was essentially that of paternalism. The effort being to turn the native inhabitants from their customary methods in the pursuit of an independent human existence to the status of the mere vassals of a superior power and rendering to it excessive tribute in the balance of trade for the tinsel and cheap habiliments of a civilized life. The effects of the system whether good or bad depended largely upon the character of the men in charge. The system of government was inherently bad, and as the ruling spirit was greed and graft, but little good is to be expected. In fact the historian relates that two of the Governors-general, the Marquis de Beauharnois and the Comtè de la Galissonnière—who held sway during this period were able and incorruptible and by their energies saved the system from inglorious failure.

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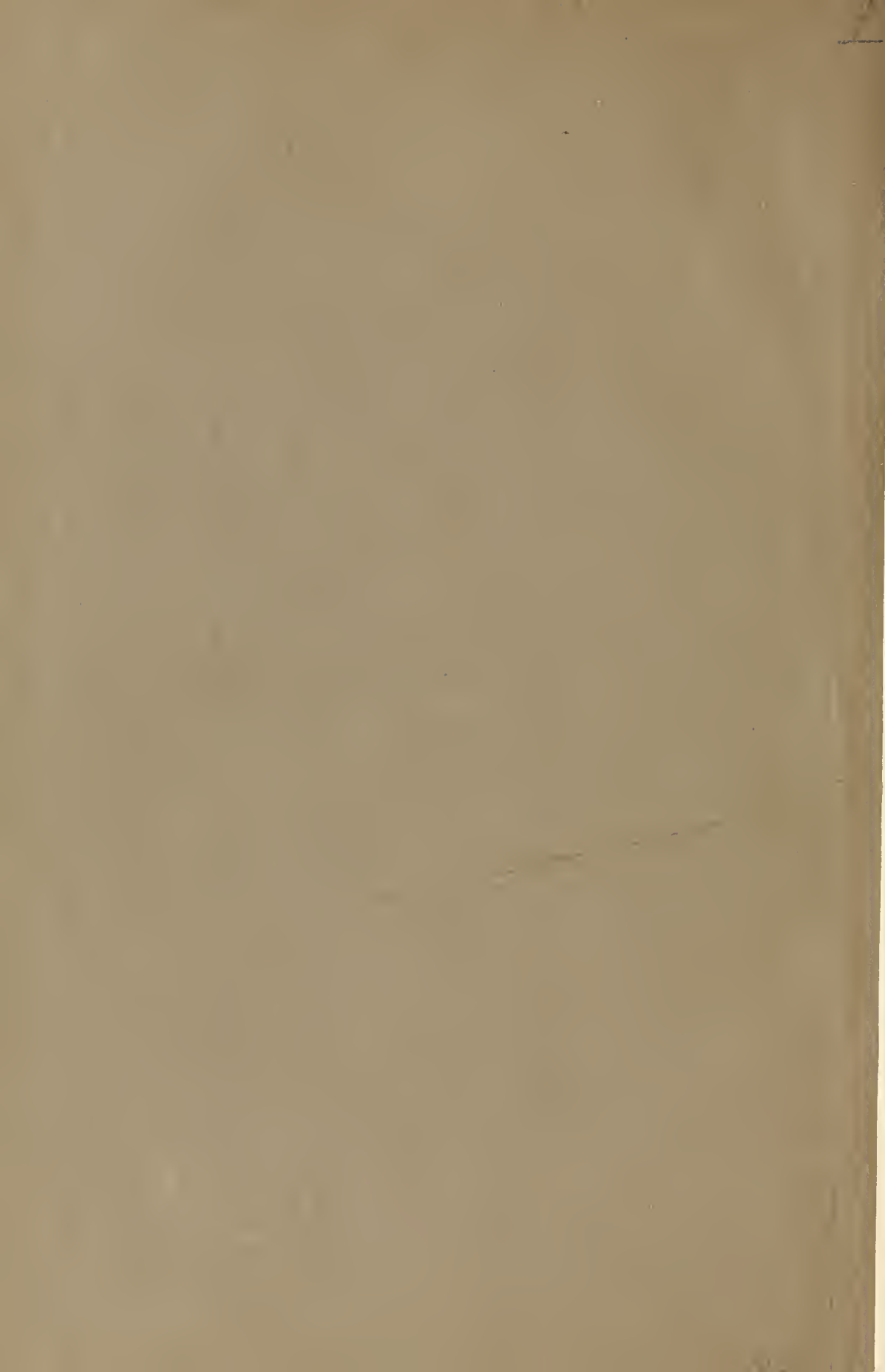
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